THE

LIFE

OF

CATHARINE II.

EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

AN ENLARGED TRANSLATION FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED,
AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

Nihil compositum miraculi causâ, verùm audita scriptaque
senioribus tradam. TACIT. Ann. lib. xi.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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*** Vol. iii. page 382, inſtead of the note as it ſtands, read: "It was what the three allied courts called, in "diplomatic terms, the *ſtatus quo*." And, page 384, in the note, for xxi read xii.

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* * Vol. II. page 360, second of the note as it stand, read: "It was when the three allied courts called, in "diplomatic terms, the Aulic Junta." And, page 385, in the note, for xxi read xii.

LIFE

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EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

CHAP. IX.

Potemkin becomes favourite.—His exile.—His recall.—Manner of inſtalling and diſmiſſing favourites.—Journey to Moſco.—Pilgrimage.—Potemkin ſtrives to induce the empreſs to marry him.—Marſhal Romantzoff comes to Moſco.—Regulations and edicts for the adminiſtration of the empire.—The Ruſſians enter the Krimea.—Election of khan Sahim Gueray.—Zavodoffsky becomes favourite.—Death of the grand duke's firſt conſort.—Second journey of prince Henry of Pruſſia to St. Peterſburg.—Journey of the grand duke to Berlin.—His ſecond marriage.—Zoritch obtains the place of favourite.—Tranſactions of the years 1774, 1775, 1776.

GREGORY Orloff had been reinſtated in the place of favourite only from motives of policy. Policy may feign a paſſion, but cannot command it. Catharine affected to have for her

former lover ſentiments which ſhe no longer felt. She was laviſh of her flatteries and kindneſſes, but ſhe could not reſtore him the poſſeſſion of her heart. The prince was therefore miſtaken in imagining himſelf to be the ſole cauſe of the diſmiſſion of Vaſſiltſchikoff. It was not to him that this ſacrifice was made.

For a long time paſt the empreſs had remarked the manly comelineſs and noble air of Potemkin. She recollected with complacency, that on the day of the revolution of 1762, Potemkin being as yet very young, had ſeized the moment when ſhe had mounted her horſe for gallantly riding up to her, and preſenting her with the plume from his hat *. She reſolved at length to be more particularly acquainted with him; and the firſt interview ſhe had with him ſecured to this new lover the ſuperiority over all his rivals. Vaſſiltſchikoff received his diſmiſſal; Orloff was retaken into favour; but the incorrigible coarſeneſs of his manners, formerly palliated by the warmth of attachment, became unſufferable, when united with decayed affection. Potemkin alone had the ſecret of conſoling her majeſty

* Whether it was his ſultane, the upright plume in his hat, or his cockade, dragonne, or ſword-knot, is immaterial to the main fact: it was, however, one or other of them.

under

under the uneaſineſſes occaſioned by the war, the apprehenſions from the rebellion, and the miſunderſtanding which prevailed between the old favourite and the miniſter Panin. Potemkin grew giddy with ſucceſs; his pride and preſumption kept pace with his proſperity; and he ſoon received a check.

One day, as he was playing at billiards with count Alexius Orloff, he was ſo thoughtleſs as to boaſt of the favour he enjoyed; and even ventured to aſſert, that it entirely depended on him to remove from court any perſons for whom he might conceive a diſlike. Alexius Orloff made him a haughty anſwer; a quarrel enſued; and Potemkin received a blow, which occaſioned him the loſs of an eye. This was not his only misfortune. Gregory Orloff, informed of the affair by his brother, ran to the empreſs, and requeſted of her the removal of Potemkin.

Potemkin repaired to Smolenſk*, his native place, where he remained almoſt a year in ſolitude, ſuffering much from his eye†, and

* Prince Potemkin was born in the environs of Smolenſk, of a family very little known.

† It has been ſaid that he might have been cured of the injury he had received in his eye, but that, in his impatience, he burſt a ſlight tumour that had formed cloſe to the ball, and deprived himſelf of the ſight of it.

from vexation at his being exiled from court. One while he declared it his reſolution to turn monk; at another time he pretended that he would become the greateſt man in all Ruſſia. In ſhort, all at once he wrote to the empreſs, beſeeching her to think of him. Her majeſty immediately ſent him letters of recall, and replaced him in the full poſſeſſion of her favour. Prince Orloff had been for ſeveral days at his hunting-ſeat; and this abſence gave opportunity for inſtalling Potemkin at the palace; and on the return of the old favourite, his complaints and his reproaches were no impediment to the continuance of the new one.

The poſt of favourite being peculiar to Ruſſia, it will naturally be expected that it ſhould here be treated of ſomewhat more at large. Ever ſince the year 1730, this empire has been governed by women, the reign of Peter III. having been too ſhort to form any ſtriking exception, or for giving the Ruſſians a notion of any other government. It is a trite remark, that when kings reign women rule, and when women reign men govern: but there ſeems nothing more in this pretended axiom than an antitheſis conſecrated by cuſtom, and repeated from one to the other, like many more, without reflection or foundation. Henry IV, Guſ-

tavus

tavus III, Catharine II, are invincible proofs that both men and women are capable of grand undertakings, without the aid of the other ſex, not to mention more examples in confirmation of the fact. For a ſeries of 70 years the monarchs of Ruſſia have always had favourites officially: it is no wonder then that the cuſtom, thus ſanctioned for ſo long a period, and ſcrupulouſly obſerved by four empreſſes, ſhould be almoſt deemed a fundamental law of the empire, and an appendage to imperial grandeur; for the age of the late ſovereign latterly gave no room to think that ſhe kept hers for any other purpoſe than in conformity to eſtabliſhed uſage, and as a property to the magnificence of the court. As the reign of that princeſs was of a longer duration than that of any of the empreſſes her predeceſſors, it is highly natural that the number of her favourites ſhould be more conſiderable; accordingly, ſome of them are ſtill in being, and two have been carried off by death. Sovereigns are men of like paſſions with us, conſequently ſubject to the ſame caprices, ſlaves to the ſame weakneſſes. It is not becauſe of any exemptions they poſſeſs from the common lot of our nature, that the ſceptre is given them to wield, and that their brows are graced with the diadem; it is only to mark them as the

point in which our intereſts unite, and by looking to which we are kept in order.

It is neceſſary then to ſhew what were the duties and diſtinctions of the favourites of Catharine. When her majeſty had fixed her choice on a new favourite, ſhe created him her general aid-de-camp, in order that he might accompany her every where without reproach or obſervation. Thenceforward the favourite occupied in the palace an apartment beneath that of the empreſs, to which it communicated by a private ſtaircaſe. The firſt day of his inſtallation he received a preſent of 100,000 rubles, and every month he found 12,000 on his dreſſing-table. The marſhal of the court was commiſſioned to provide him a table of 24 covers, and to defray all the expences of his houſehold. The favourite attended the empreſs on all parties of amuſement, at the opera, at balls, promenades, excurſions of pleaſure, and the like, and was not allowed to leave the palace without expreſs permiſſion. He was given to underſtand, that it would not be taken well if he converſed familiarly with other women; and if he went to dine with any of his friends, the miſtreſs of the houſe was always abſent.

Whenever the empreſs caſt her eyes on one of her ſubjects, in the deſign of raiſing him to the

the poſt of favourite, ſhe cauſed him to be invited to dinner by ſome lady of her confidence, on whom ſhe dropped in as if by chance. There ſhe would enter into diſcourſe with the new comer, with a view to diſcover whether or not he was worthy of the favour ſhe deſigned to grant him. When the judgment ſhe formed was favourable, the confidante was informed of it by a ſignificant look, who took care to notify it to him who had the honour to pleaſe. The day following he received a viſit from the phyſician of the court, who came to inquire into the ſtate of his health; and the ſame evening he accompanied the empreſs at the hermitage, and took poſſeſſion of the apartment that had been prepared for him. It was on the ſelection of Potemkin that theſe formalities began; and ſince that time they have been conſtantly obſerved.

When a favourite had loſt the power of making himſelf agreeable, there was alſo a particular manner of giving him his diſmiſſion. He received orders to travel; and from that moment he was debarred all acceſs to her majeſty. But he was ſure of finding at the place of his deſtination recompences worthy of the munificent Catharine.

1775. Peace being eſtabliſhed abroad, and every thing quiet at home, Catharine employed herſelf in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of the country, and in opening the minds of her ſubjects; in all which ſhe found Potemkin ſo uſeful a ſecond, that he ſoon acquired an aſcendant little ſhort of abſolute. To him all perſons looked as the diſpenſer of all bounty, and the ſource of all honours. Conſcious of the vaſt influence he poſſeſſed, and knowing that there was no one to ſupplant him, he grew wanton in the enjoyment of his power, every day obtaining ſome new dignity or ſome acceſſion of revenue; yet, when he was refuſed any thing he requeſted, he would ſhew himſelf ſullen, and ſometimes even angry. It was by ſuch ſingular methods, that he entered into the council, and procured himſelf the poſt of vice-preſident at war. Count Zachar Chernicheff* was the preſident of it. Potemkin, who could not endure to ſee any one above him, reſolved to ruin him in the mind of the empreſs, and ſucceeded in the attempt. Zachar Chernicheff delivered in his reſignation; and though the favourite was totally deficient in all the branches

* The ſame who, in 1762, had the command of the army that was ſent into Sileſia.

of

of knowledge neceſſary to fill the important office of miniſter at war, he made no ſcruple at taking it upon him. So much preſumption created him at firſt a great number of enemies: he was cenſured for undertaking ſuch a diverſity of buſineſſes, and finiſhing none; for making promiſes of promotion indiſcriminately to every ſuitor, while he did nothing for any body; and for employing himſelf to no purpoſe but in aggrandiſing ſtill more his enormous power.

The empreſs had ſucceeded in reconciling Potemkin with the Orloffs, and was exerting all her efforts to preſerve peace between them. Though for prince Gregory Orloff ſhe had not now the ſmalleſt remains of affection, nor perhaps of gratitude, ſhe kept terms with him ſtill. As for him, always jealous, not of the pleaſures, but of the honours of Potemkin, he requeſted permiſſion to retire from the court; but the empreſs would not conſent to it, preferring rather to endure his behaviour, than permit him to carry about with him a reſentment, which, though it might not be dangerous, could eaſily be rendered alarming by circumſtances. Beſides, ſhe had ſtill another motive for his retention. She was in hopes that his preſence would be ſome check on the petulance and audacity of his

rival.

rival *. After having long oppoſed Panin to Orloff, ſhe now thought of oppoſing Orloff to Potemkin.

Mortified at being refuſed permiſſion to retire, a permiſſion which had been formerly granted him againſt his inclination, Orloff had a long explanation with her majeſty. He recalled to her mind the obligations which ſhe had to him: he boaſted of his zeal and fidelity; he preſumed to ſay that ſhe had nothing to reproach him with but the being leſs young than his rival. Catharine hearkened to all with great gentleneſs; and, without plainly denying the wrongs of the complainant, ſhe aſſured him, that the empreſs was always his friend. By having recourſe to this mode of perſuaſion, which ſat ſo eaſily upon her, ſhe determined him to remain.

It was not long, however, before Orloff experienced a freſh cauſe of vexation. Shortly after the execution of Pugatſheff, the empreſs took the reſolution of viſiting Moſco; deſigning

* Once, on being ſent for to council, while he was engaged in a party at cards, he refuſed to go. On the meſſenger humbly aſking for a reaſon to take back with him, he told him he might find it in the bible. The meſſenger inquired where. "In the firſt pſalm, and in the "firſt verſe:—*Beatus vir qui non abiit in conſilio impiorum.*"

at

at once to enjoy the triumph ſhe had gained over a rebel, and to complete by her preſence the deſtruction of any hopes that might ſtill remain in the breaſts of the diſaffected. Prince Orloff exerted himſelf to diſſuade her from this journey, while Potemkin was employing every means to confirm her in her purpoſe. As the ideas of the latter were in uniſon with the deſires of Catharine, he eaſily carried his point. She ſet out on the journey.

It was not unknown to her majeſty, that, on the way to Moſco, ſhe would paſs through provinces where the popes were held in extreme veneration, and kept the people under the yoke of the moſt groſs ſuperſtition. She had the utmoſt contempt for the childiſh bigotry they taught, and held in abhorrence its dangerous miniſters: but ſhe remembered that ſhe had employed this advantage when ſhe had formed the deſign of dethroning her huſband, and therefore ſhe did not diſdain to employ it again for regaining the alienated minds of her people, and attracting the reverence of an ignorant multitude. To this end ſhe carried with her a great number of little figures of ſaints, which ſhe diſtributed in the churches and chapels on the road. Beſides theſe, ſhe deſigned for the cathedral of Moſco a large picture, richly decorated with gold and

diamonds; this ſhe had cauſed to be placed in a carriage, which, during the whole of the journey, and when ſhe made her entry into Moſco, followed immediately after her own.

Six hundred men from each regiment of guards had preceded her arrival in that great metropolis, and put themſelves under arms to receive her.

Two triumphal arches had been erected *, and preparations were made for a ſplendid entertainment. She was attended by a brilliant retinue; the crowd of ſpectators was immenſe; order and magnificence prevailed on every ſide. Nothing was wanting but acclamations and burſts of joy. The populace, more amazed than affected, exhibited not the leaſt ſign of ſatisfaction. The empreſs had cauſed proclamation to be made of a diminution of impoſts; but the hearts of the people ſeemed as little moved by her bounties, as at the pomp of her train.

The grand duke experienced a very different reception. The inſtances of homage that were withheld from his mother were laviſhed upon him. It is pretended, that a courtier, ſtruck with this contraſt, and wiſhing to dive into the ſentiments of the heir of the throne, ſaid to him,

* Theſe two triumphal arches coſt, it is ſaid, 40,000 rubles.

"Your

" Your imperial highneſs ſees how much you are " beloved. Oh, if you would!....." The grand duke anſwered not a word, but gave the courtier * a look of reprimand, which ſhewed that, though he was kept out of a throne that belonged to him, he nevertheleſs knew how to behave as a reſpectful ſon.

Some days after her arrival at Moſco, the empreſs performed a pilgrimage to a convent ſituate at the diſtance of forty verſts from the city, walking on foot the whole way, attended by all her court. Count Panin alone was not invited to this act of devotion. On this occaſion he ſaid, in revenge for this mark of diſfavour :—" The empreſs was not willing that I " ſhould accompany her on her pilgrimage, " becauſe ſhe thought that I had neither devo- " tion enough, nor enough of the courtier."

Panin was become negligent not only of his duties as a courtier, but alſo of his functions as miniſter. Eaſe and amuſements were now his principal buſineſs. He rarely read the diſpatches of the ambaſſadors, and far more rarely deigned to anſwer them. This conduct put arms into the hands of his enemies, but was particularly

* Count Andrew Razumoffsky, one of the ſons of the hetman. The other, who is called count Gregory Razumoffsky, follows a ſtudious life at Lauſanne.

favourable

favourable to the ambitious Potemkin, who was ardently longing for the removal of Panin. On ſucceeding prince Orloff in favour, Potemkin had preſumed to form the ſame deſigns with him in aſpiring to obtain the hand of the ſovereign. But he ſtood in awe of count Panin; his frankneſs, his perſuaſive eloquence, even his arts of intrigue, alarmed him; for notwithſtanding his indolence, the old miniſter could yet handle thoſe weapons.

What ſtrange metamorphoſes will not ambition work! The moſt arrogant man in all Ruſſia, he who to all appearance was leaſt calculated for putting himſelf under reſtraint, and who having not the ſlighteſt tincture of religion, turned all modes of faith into ridicule, Potemkin put on all at once the exterior of a piety the moſt auſtere. At the beginning of Lent, to the ſurpriſe of all, he bid adieu to good cheer, of which he was very fond, lived upon nothing but roots, and his only drink was water; went regularly every day to confeſſion, and wearied the ſaints with his prayers. He had taken care to make choice of the ſame confeſſor with the empreſs, and unboſomed to him all his tranſgreſſions, at the ſame time praying him to inform that princeſs, that his alarmed conſcience would no longer allow him to indulge in an intercourſe

intercourſe that was criminal when not ſanctioned by marriage. Whether the monk had been gained over or not, he acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion. Catharine came to no explanation with him: but, eaſily gueſſing the motive of Potemkin's ſcruples, ſhe ſent for him, and talked to him with tenderneſs, but with dignity. She told him that, though ſhe had a regard for him, ſhe was miſtreſs enough of herſelf to get the better of her paſſion; and that if he was reſolved no longer to fill the poſt of favourite, ſhe could eaſily reſolve to put another in his place.

Potemkin, diſappointed, humiliated, confounded, could not ſo thoroughly conceal his vexation, but the people of the court were able to perceive it. He was even heard to ſay, that he would take holy orders, and cauſe himſelf to be conſecrated archbiſhop. But the empreſs returned to Peterſburg. Potemkin followed her, and ſoon forgot both his devotion and his reſentment in the purſuits of ambition and the enjoyments of pleaſure.

But the intrigues of the court have detained our view from objects more worthy of our attention. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that the pleaſures of Catharine prevented her

her not from applying herſelf to the cares of the government of her empire.

In the former days of Catharine's ſtay in Moſco, ſhe went to meet marſhal Romantzoff at Kolomiſki*: ſhe received him with every poſſible mark of ſatisfaction; and nothing could be more flattering than the ſplendid preparations which were made in the capital for the marſhal's reception there, upon his return from that war which he had ſo gloriouſly conducted, and ſo happily concluded. The empreſs, on this occaſion, ſhewed him all the reſpect that was due to the moſt illuſtrious ſupporter of her throne. It had been her intention that he ſhould enter Moſco on the ſame day with herſelf; and that, advancing on horſeback between the triumphal arches that had been raiſed to his honour, he ſhould join her, without ſetting his foot to the ground: and every thing had been prepared for his making a triumphal entry in all the magnificence of the ancients. This honour, however, the general, either through wiſdom or magnanimity, declined. But that circumſtance did not leſſen the intended ſplendor and magnificence in other reſpects, nor the public honours

* The 21ſt of July.

paid

paid to the general. He choſe to appear before his ſovereign, not as a triumphant hero, but as a ſoldier come to give an account of his victories.

The next day the empreſs, accompanied by the grand duke, the principal officers of the empire, and all her courtiers, proceeded on foot from the ancient palace of the tzars to the cathedral of Moſco, in order to be preſent at a ſolemn maſs, and the Te Deum * that was ſung on occaſion of the peace.

At the concluſion of this ceremony, the private treaſurer of the empreſs read, with a loud voice, the liſt of the recompences which that monarch was pleaſed to beſtow on the generals who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war againſt the Turks.

Marſhal Romantzoff received an eſtate in land with 5000 peaſants, 100,000 rubles in ready money, a very fine ſervice of plate, a hat encircled with a laurel branch of brilliant jewellery, and valued at 30,000 rubles, the ſtar of the order of St. George, and an epaulette of

* When, or how, or on what occaſion, the ſong of St. Ambroſe, as it is called, was adopted into the ruſſian liturgy, is a queſtion of ſome curioſity, ſince the greek church, from whence that of Ruſſia is denominated, knows nothing of it.

diamonds, with a magnificent truncheon of field-marſhal; and a diploma, adding to his ſurname that of Zadunaiſki, which may be tranſlated, the Ultra-danubian.

To count Alexius Orloff, 60,000 rubles, and a ſword enriched with diamonds, of very conſiderable value, and a diploma granting to him the ſurname of Tſcheſminſki, from the burning of the turkiſh fleet in the bay of Tſcheſmè.

To general Paul Potemkin, a diploma of count of the ruſſian empire, and her imperial majeſty's picture ſet with diamonds as an appendage to his dreſs.

To general Panin and prince Dolgorouky, 60,000 rubles each, with a ſword and diamond ſtar.

To count Soltikoff, the ſecond claſs of the order of St. George.

To count Ivan Chernicheff, the order of St. Andrew.

Several ribbons of St. Alexander Nefsky were conferred, and military promotions made.

Admiral Greig was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral, and appointed commandant of Cronſtadt.

Next day the grand duke beſtowed 11 ribbons of the order of St. Anne.

Large

Large gold medals, ſtruck upon the occaſion, were likewiſe diſtributed to the field-marſhals, generals in chief, and foreign miniſters; and ſome of a ſmaller ſize, to the reſt of the nobility of the five firſt claſſes.

Her majeſty likewiſe recalled ſome noblemen from their baniſhment in Siberia; two of whom had reſided there ever ſince the year 1746.

Catharine had already, on the quelling of the rebellion, iſſued an ukauſe, whereby various taxes were aboliſhed, ſome of which had been laid on during the war, and others were of old ſtanding.

The taxes laid on during the late war, and which were now aboliſhed, were the tax of 80 kopeeks over and above that of 1 ruble 20 kopeeks paid per head by merchants and handicraftſmen; the tax of 100 rubles on each furnace or iron work; the tax of five rubles on each furnace in copper founderies; the tax of four kopeeks on every pood of caſt iron; the tenths of founded braſs; the tenths of the capitals employed in mines of every kind; the additional tax of one ruble *per annum* on every weaver's loom employed in manufactories, or by private perſons in their own houſes; as likewiſe the tax of one *per cent.* on the value of every other kind

of manufactured goods. A general liberty was alſo given to eſtabliſh manufactories without the neceſſity of previouſly obtaining the permiſſion of the college. The million and half of rubles, the empreſs advanced for ten years to the provinces which had lately been the ſeat of rebellion, at the rate of one *per cent.* for the firſt three years, and three *per cent.* for the remaining ſeven, was to be diſtributed amongſt the proprietors of peaſants,' in the proportion of 40 rubles for every man loſt by them in the late troubles.

The taxes upon the eſtates of the livonian noblemen were taken off.

Amongſt the taxes of old ſtanding, which were now aboliſhed, were the tax on tanned leather and ſkins; that on wax, on tallow-melting, on ſoap-works, on oil-manufactories, on private ſalt-works, and that on malt and hops.

The prohibition was taken off from all the towns and villages in the empire, of erecting ſmithies and ſmall iron-works; and they were thenceforth permitted to manufacture and trade in all kinds of iron whatſoever.

The ſame edict contained a number of internal regulations, together with acts of grace and pardon.

pardon. It took off all prohibitions againſt contracting marriages without the conſent of the governors of towns or provinces, and all dues hitherto paid to obtain their permiſſion.

It admitted all burghers, who ſhould declare upon oath that they were poſſeſſed of a capital of 500 rubles, into the claſs of merchants; whereby they were exempted from thoſe taxes to which they were ſubjected by their former condition: but in lieu of theſe they were to pay one *per cent.* upon their capital, whatever it might be, and which they were likewiſe to declare upon oath; and, contrariwiſe, thoſe who had hitherto come under the denomination of merchants, but who did not actually poſſeſs a capital of 500 rubles, were returned into the claſs of burghers.

All peaſants enfranchiſed by their lords, were, at their reverſion, to chooſe whether they would enter into the ſervice of government, or become merchants or burghers, that they might be taxed, or exempted from taxes, accordingly.

A general pardon was granted to all perſons concerned in the late rebellion, with an injunction to bury every thing relative thereto in oblivion; as alſo a releaſe to all priſoners who

have been confined, on account of any crimes whatever, for the ſpace of ten years, without having had judgment paſſed upon them; nor was thenceforth any crime, committed ſo long ago as ten years, without being brought to light, to be examined into: and this was declared to be a permanent law throughout the empire, for ever.

All nobles ſerving as ſubaltern officers, were to be ſubject to no other penalties and puniſhments than ſuch as had been inflicted on their ſuperior officers; nor were the corporal puniſhments of the private men to be for the future ſo ſevere, nor ſo ignominious, as they had hitherto been.

The ſenate received a ſpecial order to lower the duty on the ſale of lands, houſes, &c. from ſix to four *per cent.*

Catharine had been, for ſome years paſt, meditating a regulation for the interior government of her country. This ſhe cauſed to be printed at Moſco: at the ſame time iſſuing an order, that it ſhould not at firſt be executed except in the governments of Smolenſk and Tver, as the people of thoſe two provinces appeared to her the moſt intelligent, the moſt docile, and conſequently the moſt fit for contributing

tributing to the ſucceſs of the intended trial of the new laws *.

The reader will perhaps recollect, that towards the concluſion of the foregoing volume †, we ſpoke in general terms of a conſtitution for the ruſſian empire, which ſeriouſly occupied her mind, and from which we took occaſion then to lay before him that part which related to the police. It now remains for us to give a more particular account of that conſtitution itſelf, in which, however, we ſhall obſerve as much regard to brevity, as the nature of the ſubject will allow.

Catharine began by dividing her extenſive empire into governments or viceroyalties. Of theſe ſhe formed 43, whereof 38 lie in Europe, and five in Aſia. The remoteſt of the aſiatic part are indeed of an enormous circuit; but in the reſt the difference in point of extent is not

* The firſt ukauſe concerning it was dated in November 1775. The regulation was afterwards ſucceſſively introduced and eſtabliſhed in all the other provinces of the empire, during the years 1776—1783. Theſe regulations were even tranſlated into the tartarian languages, in order, in due time, to their introduction among that people.

† Vol. ii. p. 372, 373. The whole of this conſtitution has been annulled by the preſent emperor Paul, and the viceroyalties aboliſhed.

ſo very conſpicuous. Many of them were again divided into provinces; but all into circles, of which each government, according to its dimenſions, had ſix, ten, or more *. Each of the latter was to conſiſt of from 300,000 to 400,000 perſons of the male ſex, conſequently of 600,000 or 800,000 people; and every circle of from 40,000 to 60,000 inhabitants: but in the actual eſtabliſhment of it afterwards this was not obſerved; there are ſome which compriſe in them a greater and others a ſmaller number of perſons.

The viceroyalty has a general governor, a governor, and a government-adminiſtration; in which, beſides thoſe two perſonages, two counſellors have ſeats. Subordinate to theſe, are a court of juſtice, a finance-chamber, a ſuperior country-court, a viceroyalty magiſtrate, &c. The circle has alſo its court of judicature; likewiſe a ward or guardian office, a land-ſurveyor, a rent-maſter, a phyſician, a ſurgeon; in the cities are magiſtrates, in the towns, common-councils; in both oral-courts of judicature, &c. † The whole eſtabliſhment was erected on the moſt ſplendid footing, in order that proviſion might be made

* See the preliminaries, vol. i. p. 3, 4, 5, &c.

† See before, vol. ii. p. 388.

both

both for whatever was neceſſary to the well-being of the department, and what had a tendency to the improvement and to the embelliſhment of the country; and the appearance and retinue of the governor were, in the judgment both of foreigners and natives, ſuitable to the dignity of his ſtation, and the honour of the government over which he preſided.

Two examples of the annual government-expence, without including the diſburſements for the military commands, will ſuffice to explain this matter: the new eſtabliſhment demands annually for the viceroyalty of St. Peterſburg, conſiſting of ten circles and the city of Cronſtadt, the ſum of 143,800 rubles: for the viceroyalty of Tver, which has thirteen circles, 120,953 rubles.

Beſides the advantages ariſing from an uniform and fixed adminiſtration of juſtice, her majeſty perhaps thought, and in this opinion ſhe had the concurrence of many well-meaning perſons, that by means of theſe inſtitutions, particularly in the interior provinces, by the example of civil-officers with rich ſalaries, by the erection of a public theatre, and other incitements to emulation in dreſs and appearance, to introduce a greater refinement of manners; and more attention to the elegances of life; but others

have

have ſince thought they perceived a luxury heretofore unknown, daily gaining ground, to the detriment of the morals of that frugal people.

The principal matter in this new diviſion of the empire was, the complete alteration of the old internal conſtitution. In this reſpect it was the greateſt and moſt comprehenſive reform that Ruſſia had ever ſeen (even not excepting the reformations of Peter the great); an excellent means to the promotion of national proſperity, and a noble machine in the hands of an attentive government. Every city, every town, may be conſidered as a ſmall community, which cities and towns, by diviſions into circles, are conſolidated into one larger community, from whence the ſeveral viceroyalties grow. In each of theſe latter, the two ſovereign perſons of the government (of whom the ſecond, the governor, is properly a vice-general-governor,) with all their power, have yet only to do with the peculiar affairs of the government of their own territory; the courts of juſtice therein are entirely independent on them, and their ultimate reſort is to the tribunal of appeals belonging to the viceroyalty. The regulation of the claſhing concerns of the ſeveral colleges of juſtice, and the reſt of the inſtitute, very little reſembling

reſembling any thing of the kind in Europe, is truly admirable.

All is ſimple, uniform, and for the moſt part novel. It is not without foundation that philoſophical politicians have maintained, that ſuch a ſimplification was favourable to deſpotiſm: but in an empire whoſe conſtitution was already an unlimited ruler, it was in the higheſt degree proper; eſpecially on account of its ſo prodigious a compaſs, which otherwiſe would be neither eaſily ſuſceptible of inſpection, nor of being vigorouſly actuated throughout. Whatever was not ſuitable to this ſyſtem, was either aboliſhed or new-moulded; whatever, in particular provinces, militated againſt the new form of government, was removed. The countries bordering on the Baltic, formerly conquered from the Swedes, as well as the tribes of Tartars on the cataracts of the Dniepr, were deprived of their old conſtitutions, though ſo ſolemnly ſecured to them by treaties of peace and acts of ſubmiſſion. The firſt ſhock could not paſs over without violent commotions; but now the moſt extenſive empire on the earth, with all its territories and countries, was phyſically and geographically cemented together, in regard to its internal policy, truly into one body politic.

The

The reform of the ſenate, at the commencement of this reign, had, in a manner, prepared the way to this new creation; and the new adminiſtration of law, which was introduced in 1780, ſtood again in the cloſeſt connection with that conſtitution of government. In all the provinces, the forms of judicature hitherto in uſe were changed; they received uniformly courts of juſtice in regular and adequate gradations, in various modes, from whence the laſt appeal was to the directing ſenate.

Two inſtitutes in every government circle deſerve particular mention: the college of general proviſion, which took cogniſance of all affairs relative to ſchools, orphan-houſes, infirmaries, and alms-houſes, mad-houſes, work-houſes, and places of correction; and the court of conſcience, which pronounced according to equity, in caſes where no judicial proof was to be had; and before which the moſt inſignificant perſon in the empire could cite the general governor himſelf, whenever he thought he had a claim upon him.

All the colleges that have been here and before mentioned, had their peculiar members, and theſe their ſtated rank; for even in this matter an exact gradation prevailed, which certainly contri-

contributed to the maintenance of order throughout the whole monarchy.

Before ſhe promulgated this regulation, Catharine repaired to the ſenate, in all the ſtate of imperial majeſty, where ſhe cauſed it to be read and enregiſtered in her preſence. She had already cauſed to be enregiſtered an ukauſe, worthy of attaching to her the gratitude of a great number of her ſubjects. The inhabitants of the diſtant provinces had been, till that time, obliged to travel up to Peterſburg or to Moſco to have their cauſes tried. Catharine reſolved to ſave them theſe long and expenſive journies: ſhe therefore declared that thenceforward all ſuits ſhould be adjudged by the tribunals of the provinces; reſerving, however, to the parties the right of appealing from the judgment of theſe tribunals to one or the other ſenate, and even to the council of the empreſs, but alſo making it known that, if the former judgment was confirmed, the appellant ſhould pay a fine.

Another ukauſe diffuſed joy and gladneſs among the inhabitants of Siberia. The rebellion of Pugatſheff had long put a ſtop to their commerce, and the ſcarcity of money ſtill greatly impeded its operations. By applying a remedy to this latter inconvenience, the empreſs

cauſed

cauſed the former to be forgotten. A bank was eſtabliſhed at Tobolſk, and committed to the care of Gotoſtzoff, who had already given proofs of his ſkill in the direction of the bank of Peterſburg. The commerce of Siberia preſently regained its former activity.

The general commerce of the empire attracted the eſpecial attention of Catharine. She encouraged it to the utmoſt of her power; juſtly conſidering it as the principal ſource of her greatneſs.

About the ſame time, ten veſſels laden with wine, having on board ſome chriſtian emigrants from the Morea, appeared at the Dardanelles, to paſs from the Archipelago to the Euxine, in order to proceed to the ruſſian territories, on the borders of the ſea of Azoff. The commandant of the Dardanelles ſent an officer to ſearch them; and, upon the captain's refuſing to conſent to it, he obliged them to anchor under the forts, and ſubmit to be viſited. Colonel Peterſen, chargé des affaires from Ruſſia, being informed of this violence, demanded immediate ſatisfaction, as a violation of the 11th article of the treaty of peace; and the Porte diſpatched a firman, by which the commandant was ordered to let thoſe veſſels paſs freely.

No

No material change took place in the circumſtances of Poland ſince the concluſion of the war between its great neighbours. The court of Peterſburg directed all the affairs of that country with as unbounded a ſway, as it regulates thoſe of its domeſtic provinces. It is true that the nobility there were ſtill as turbulent, and the factions as violent as ever; but, fortunately for themſelves and the people, the power which overawed and controuled them, was of ſo ſuperior a ſtrength and magnitude, as effectually to reſtrain them from thoſe deſperate efforts which had of late ſo repeatedly heaped ruin upon themſelves and the republic. Under the order preſerved by that ſtrong graſp, the country was now beginning to recover from the effects of thoſe dreadful calamities which it had ſo long endured; and its extenſive plains once more to ſmile under the hand of cultivation.

The moderation and influence of the court of Peterſburg, had alſo produced a very happy effect upon the conduct of the other great partitioning powers: they both having deſiſted from ſeveral of their late claims, and relaxed greatly from that rigour and violence with which they had treated the republic.

The diſſidents alſo were at length remembered by the court of Ruſſia; and their privi-

leges

leges were now aſcertained and ſecured. They were particularly ſecured in the public profeſſion and exerciſe of their religion, and were allowed churches and ſchools, even at Warſaw; but were reſtrained from the uſe of bells in the former. Some other regulations took place in their favour; particularly a right of appeal, in all caſes of grievance, to a tribunal, in which a certain number of their own communion were to be admitted as aſſeſſors. They were, however, ſtill debarred from ſitting in the ſenate, and from occupying any offices in the departments of adminiſtration.

It was with a view to excite emulation, and confer a ſort of dignity on ſuch of her ſubjects as ſhould addict themſelves to commerce, that Catharine publiſhed the edict * mentioned above, freeing them from the capitation and the obligation in which they had hitherto been, of drawing lots for ſupplying recruits to the army and navy; and by permitting, at the ſame time, all free boors to enroll themſelves in one of the mercantile claſſes †, on condition of paying annually

* It is called in Ruſſia the edict, or the ukauſe of grace.

† The ruſſian traders, or merchants, are divided into three claſſes. The firſt is compoſed of thoſe who poſſeſs, or are rated as poſſeſſing, a capital of 100,000 rubles: the

annually to the crown one *per cent.* on the capital which they ſhould employ in their traffic.

In the ſame deſign of improving and extending the commerce of her empire, it was, that the empreſs renewed her treaty with England. She was alſo the declared patroneſs of induſtry and agriculture. New manufactories were every where eſtabliſhed, by her own direction and encouragement: ſhe employed workmen to rebuild the villages, and to repair the devaſtation which the rebellion of Pugatſheff had occaſioned to the colonies on the ſhores of the Volga. But, unfortunately, the men to whom the empreſs committed the exerciſe of her power, but rarely fulfilled her views. Entruſted with authority for the purpoſe of rendering her government amiable to numerous tribes of people, they ſeemed ſtudiouſly to bring an odium upon it.

Great pains were uſed, and no expence or encouragement ſpared, to induce foreigners to people thoſe vaſt deſarts which overſpread a great part of the empire; and which, in many

ſecond, of thoſe who have 50,000 rubles; and the third, of thoſe who have only 100 rubles.—They pay to the government according to the claſs in which they are inſcribed; and it is eaſy to imagine that vanity often gets the better of truth, and even of avarice.

places, require only cultivation, to produce, in the greateſt abundance, every thing neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence and comfort of mankind. Theſe means, joined with the inducement of an unbounded toleration in religious matters, had ſucceeded ſo happily, that twelve new colonies, comprehending upwards of 6000 families, were already eſtabliſhed on the borders of the Volga. In order to facilitate the commerce and communication with China, and to prevent the great expences attending caravans, no leſs endeavours were uſed to form a cultivated tract along the courſe of the road through thoſe wide and void regions which ſeparate the two empires. Towns and villages were founded at proper diſtances for this purpoſe; and, as a rampart at the head of the line, ſeveral colonies of poliſh farmers had been eſtabliſhed during the war, in the country immediately adjoining to the confines of China. As theſe poor emigrants, who had eſcaped the double horrors of war and oppreſſion in their own country, were liberally provided with ſtock and all neceſſaries, and began to taſte the ſweets of ſecurity in perſon and property; the new ſettlements flouriſhed accordingly, until the rapacity of the governors, encouraged by the ſuppoſed impunity which their diſtance from the ſeat of government, and the means they

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of ſuppreſſing information and complaint would afford, changed the pleaſing proſpect, and had nearly accompliſhed their ruin. Some of the new colonies had been laid waſte by the depredations of the rebels, and all together were declining by the mal-adminiſtration, and the rapacity of the ruſſian agents. The 100,000 coloniſts, which Catharine had at ſeveral times brought into her country *, and the greater part of whom were Germans, were reduced, ten years afterwards, to leſs than 29,000 †, diſperſed and languiſhing in the parts about Saratoff, Kief, and Tzaritzin.

While Catharine was yet at Moſco, ſhe learned that ſome officers had juſt been following the example of lieutenant-colonel Kiſchenſkoï ‡, whoſe unworthy conduct has been already mentioned. Their vexations forced a horde of Baſhkirs to revolt. Theſe Tartars not only refuſed to pay the cuſtomary tribute, but they maſſacred the ruſſian officers, as well as the popes, that were ſent to them; and placed in the portable chapels or ſhrines of

* In 1764 and 1765.

† 28,293 perſons of both ſexes, forming 7185 families.

‡ The ſame whoſe covetouſneſs and rapacity forced ſo many thouſands of Kalmuks to abandon Ruſſia, and betake themſelves to the mountains of Thibet.

theſe popes, the images of the Dalai-lama, preferring their old idolatry to a religion the followers whereof were to them only greedy oppreſſors. The empreſs opened a treaty with them. Officers leſs rapacious than the former were now ſent to them, and the whole horde returned peaceably under the ruſſian authority.

Her majeſty, at the ſollicitation of the inhabitants of the newly acquired provinces of White-Ruſſia, to have their taxes put upon the ſame footing on which they were before it came under her ſceptre, inſtead of barely granting them their requeſt, reduced their taxes ſtill lower, by taking off one half of what they were then rated at.

Moreover, to encourage trade in the Euxine, lately opened to her by the treaty with the Porte, where it would not meet with thoſe impediments which nature has placed in the Baltic, where the climate is a check to trade for the greater part of the year, and the dangerous coaſts of the Cattegatte and the gulf of Finland cauſe numberleſs ſhipwrecks during the remainder; Catharine allowed the uſe of ſhips freight-free to Gouſetnikoff, a ruſſian merchant, who had raiſed a capital for that undertaking; and alſo promiſed to make good all his loſſes,

leaving, at the ſame time, the whole profits which might accrue from ſuch trade entirely to himſelf.

In the mean time Ruſſia ſtill continued to move in that ſuperior ſphere of conduct, which had for ſome years excited the admiration of the world. Great and ſplendid actions, adorned by a noble magnificence, and a munificence only ſuited to the reſources of ſo vaſt an empire, threw a luſtre all around which dazzled the eyes of the beholders, and afforded a permanency to the government of Catharine which was little to have been expected, either from the diſpoſition of the people, the uncertain tenure of arbitrary power, or the many inauſpicious circumſtances which attended its commencement. Individuals felt themſelves partakers in the exalted ſtate of the whole, and that ſenſe ſeemed to influence their conduct. A captain of a ruſſian ſhip, forgetting all ſober maxims of prudence, with a noble generoſity, at the hazard of his life and property, and encountering what is ſtill more dreadful than either, the danger of ſlavery, boldlywent and cut a rich chriſtian prize out of a fortified piratical harbour in Barbary, ſcorning all benefit to himſelf or his brave crew, other than the glory of the act, with the plea-

ſure of reſtoring liberty to the captives, and their property to the pillaged.

The attention which had of late, more than ever, been paid to the increaſe and improvement of the ruſſian naval force, ſufficiently ſpoke the intentions of the government, even if other evidence were wanting, to advance ſpeedily into the firſt claſs of commercial and maritime power. But, of all the vaſt projects which have engaged the attention of the rulers of that empire, from Peter the great, downward, none equalled in magnitude that which not only occupied the contemplation of Catharine, but was already in ſome degree undertaken *. This was no leſs than the union of the remote and inland Caſpian with the far-diſtant and boundleſs frozen ocean. However extraordinary this ſcheme may appear, and however difficult it might prove in the execution, yet, by means of canals, with the junction of ſeveral navigable rivers, it might perhaps be found not impracticable. If at any time this plan ſhould ſucceed, it will undoubtedly exhibit the greateſt monument of human induſtry, and the moſt extraordinary inland navigation, that has ever been known.

* At leaſt ſo it was ſaid to be. See Ann. Reg. of the year of which we are ſpeaking.

While

While Catharine was employed in calming the rebellious Tartars of the eaſtern part of her dominions, ſhe uſed her efforts to induce thoſe of the leſſer Tartary to ſubmit to her ſovereignty. The conqueſts of prince Dolgorouky had diſpoſed a great number of the inhabitants of the Krimea to favour the Ruſſians. The new khan Doulet-Gueray continued devoted to the Ottomans: a part of his people refuſed to obey him. Peace had been for ſome time concluded between the Turks and the Ruſſians; but the Tartars continued ſtill fighting. The Ruſſians ſtrewed preſents and diſſentions among them. They ſecretly ſtirred them up to rebellion; and ſometimes even ſupported them with arms in their hands. All at once they appeared in the Krimea in conſiderable force; and by pretending to attempt to take Doulet-Gueray by ſurpriſe, they took care to give him an opportunity to eſcape. Doulet-Gueray did not let it ſlip; but this khan had ſcarcely quitted his country, when the Ruſſians cauſed Sahim-Gueray to be elected in his ſtead.

1776. Soon after this, the Ruſſians conſtructed a fortreſs between Kertſch and Yenikaly, together with a ſpacious town for the accommodation of the chriſtians of the Krimea who had come over to them for protection.

The Turks, diſſatisfied with the revolution of the Krimea and the uſurpations of the Ruſſians, threatened to have recourſe to arms. The imprudent and feeble Sahim-Gueray, by the advice of a ruſſian agent who reſided with him, ſent to Peterſburg a deputation of ſix myrzas *. This homage was ſo flattering to the ambition of Catharine, that it could not but be well received: ſhe ſeemed to behold in theſe myrzas new ſubjects come to take their oath of allegiance. She treated them with friendlineſs; and previous to their preſentation for audience, they were habited in magnificent caftans †. They intreated her to vouchſafe her protection to their khan: a fatal protection, which that unhappy prince afterwards too dearly paid for.

Marſhal Romantzoff had already received orders to collect an army on the banks of the Boryſthenes ‡. Every thing ſeemed to indicate an approaching rupture between Ruſſia and the Porte: but prince Repnin, being ſent ambaſſador extraordinary from the empreſs to Conſtantinople, ſucceeded in calming, for ſome time, the reſentment of the divan. This was all that Catharine wiſhed for. She only deſired

* Tartarian nobles.

† Theſe caftans coſt 4000 rubles each.

‡ The Dnieſter.

to

to gain time for preparing to enter the liſts with advantage; as the war was neceſſary to her ſchemes of invaſion.

Inceſſantly pre-occupied with her grand deſigns, Catharine ſeemed, nevertheleſs, to be thinking of nothing but pleaſures. Her time was ſo ably diſtributed, that ſhe always found enough of it for buſineſs with her miniſters, for framing new laws, for writing, with her own hand, the orders ſhe ſent to her ambaſſadors and to her generals, for keeping up a regular correſpondence with men of letters and artiſts, for duly giving audience to her ſubjects, for partaking in all the amuſements of her court, and for gratifications ariſing from more tender connections. Conſtant in her ambition, ſhe was ſometimes faithleſs in attachments, and the politics of the woman were not entirely abandoned for thoſe of the monarch.

She had not long been returned to Peterſburg ere Potemkin ceaſed to be the object of her fond affection. She heaped benefits upon him in ſuch profuſion, that it looked as if ſhe had not honours and dignities enough to offer him; yet her heart was already decided in favour of another. A young Ukrainian, named Zavadoffsky, was honoured in private with the ſmiles of the empreſs. He was preſently appointed her

her ſecretary; and ſhortly after, her majeſty openly called him her favourite. This change gave occaſion to a ſcene that ſeemed of a very extraordinary nature at the court of Catharine. Whenever that princeſs gave an order, it appeared impoſſible that it ſhould not be executed: however arduous the undertaking, ſhe would always be obeyed. Now, it is known, that the diſcarded favourite received orders to travel, and that it was no longer allowable for him to preſent himſelf before the empreſs till ſhe ſhould deign to recall him. The impetuous Orloff himſelf had ſubmitted to that cuſtom. But Potemkin took the liberty to evade it: on receiving the fatal order he pretended to ſet out; and the very next day he came, in the utmoſt compoſure, and placed himſelf facing the empreſs juſt as ſhe was ſitting down to her party at whiſt. Without evincing the leaſt mark of diſpleaſure at the preſumptuous diſobedience of Potemkin, Catharine advanced a card to him from the pack, told him that he always played luckily, and ſpoke no more of his departure. Potemkin preſerved all his poſts, his honours, his influence, and from the lover became the friend of the empreſs. Zavadoffsky had the art of pleaſing: but Potemkin had rendered himſelf uſeful; and his genius, more analogous

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to the genius of Catharine than any other of her favourites, uninterruptedly retained the aſcendant over her.

In the mean time, Orloff, who had been too ſuddenly informed of the diſgrace of Potemkin, haſtened to Peterſburg. Here he found his rival ſtill in the enjoyment, not of the affection, but of the confidence of the ſovereign. Prince Orloff thought himſelf able to reſume that confidence, while a youthful lover, and a ſtranger to politics, poſſeſſed the heart of Catharine: but he was ſoon undeceived. He made his appearance at court, kiſſed the hand of the empreſs, and ſeeing Potemkin beſide her, ſet out immediately for Moſco.

The courtiers who were moſt habituated to obſerve the empreſs, could not divine which was the lover whom ſhe preferred. They could not imagine that Potemkin would furrender his intereſt in the affections of that princeſs. They neglected to conſider, that love is ſilent in the preſence of ambition.

Panin ſeemed more than ever ſunk in his uſual indolence, which now began to border on perfect apathy. But the empreſs left him in poſſeſſion of his poſts; both becauſe his long ſervices merited that indulgence, and becauſe he made one of a very powerful party. This party

was

was deſirous of ſeeing Paul Petrovitch lay claim to a throne which by right was his; but the prudent moderation of the prince and his reverence for his mother repulſed all ambitious ſchemes. Catharine, however, who ſometimes forgot what her ſon would not, for thinking on what he might do, was not entirely free from inquietudes. She was miſtruſtful of all perſons whom ſhe thought capable of inſtilling bold advice into the mind of that prince; and ſhe was ſtill more apprehenſive of thoſe who could arm themſelves in his behalf.

Theſe apprehenſions had not eſcaped the obſervation of the king of Pruſſia. From the diſtance of Brandenburg he ſpied all that paſſed in the ſoul of Catharine; and dexterouſly applied it to his advantage. Knowing that he alone could effectually ſupport the grand duke in aſſerting his rights; whenever therefore he wanted to lead the empreſs to his purpoſes, he never failed to teſtify great concern about her ſon. The ſuſpicions of Catharine were alarmed; and, for preſerving the friendſhip of Frederic, ſhe eaſily made ſacrifices, whatever they might coſt.

The grand duke had a great friendſhip for count Andrew Razumoffsky. He engaged him in all his parties, and placed the greateſt confidence

confidence in him. The empreſs, who knew the bold and enterpriſing ſpirit of Razumoffsky, was alarmed at this intimacy, and reſolved to break it; and for this the count himſelf ſoon furniſhed her with an opportunity. Catharine remarked ſome ſigns of ſecret intelligence paſſing between him and the grand ducheſs *, and made no ſcruple to ſuppoſe that Razumoffsky had preſumed to form ſome raſh deſigns upon the princeſs; of which ſhe carefully apprized the grand duke. That prince could not prevail upon himſelf to imagine that the ſuſpicions of his mother had any real foundation; nevertheleſs, without withdrawing his kindneſs from count Razumoffsky, he reſolved to keep an eye upon him; and recommended it to his conſort to be cautious and reſerved in her behaviour. Whether, in fact, the grand ducheſs had already ſome inclination for Razumoffsky, whether theſe very ſurmiſes and ſuggeſtions, and the reſtraints that were laid upon her in conſequence of them, might not give birth to this inclination, ſhe kept up a ſecret correſpondence with him. She went farther, it is ſaid: ſhe formed the deſign of revenging herſelf on her who had brought her virtue into ſuſpicion with her huſband; and ac-

* The grand duke's firſt conſort.

cordingly

cordingly entered into political intrigues, which could not fail of diſpleaſing the empreſs. Whether theſe reports were true or falſe, ſhe had not time to put them in execution. She died in childbed. The loſs of her brought on Catharine one criminal imputation more *.

As ſoon as it was known that the grand ducheſs had expired, the empreſs ſeemed at once to be overwhelmed with grief; ſhe retired to Tzarſko-ſelo, taking the grand duke with her. The event had really thrown that prince into the deepeſt affliction. However, after his ſorrow had ſomewhat ſubſided, he looked over the papers of his deceaſed conſort, and among them found letters from count Razumoffsky. Theſe letters he immediately carried to his mo-

* What ſerved to add credibility to the ſurmiſes was, that the midwife who attended the grand ducheſs very ſoon made a great fortune. She lived on a familiar footing with the empreſs, and talked with prince Potemkin and count Beſborodko in the ſtyle of *thee* and *thou*; and who often went to dine with her. Dr. Almann was the official accoucheur; but, upon being aſked by a friend afterwards why he was not preſent at the delivery, he replied: "Becauſe, on "a previous viſit to her imperial highneſs, the empreſs ſaid "to me, 'Sir, if any thing diſaſtrous ſhould happen, you "will anſwer it with your head.' Upon which," continued the doctor, "I made my obeiſſances, retired, and "have never been at court ſince."

ther;

ther; calling upon her for vengeance on the man who had thus dared to diſobey her commands. The empreſs, not willing that the affair ſhould make a noiſe in the town; and at the ſame time wiſhing to ſpare the ſon of the hetman who had formerly been ſo inſtrumental to her, yielded however to the reſentment of the grand duke. But, inſtead of baniſhing Razumoffsky to Siberia, ſhe baniſhed him to Venice, with the title of her envoy extraordinary. Razumoffsky had already been ſent upon diſtinguiſhed embaſſies; and, although he perceived that this new miſſion was only intended as a mark of diſapprobation, he made no heſitation to accept it. Having ſtaid there ſome time, Catharine appointed him her miniſter at Naples*: at which place he was when the grand duke was on his travels in Italy; and it was noticed, that, on paſſing through Naples, the prince ſent to count Razumoffsky † to forbid him to appear in his preſence.

A few days antecedent to the death of the grand ducheſs, prince Henry of Pruſſia arrived at St. Peterſburg. Frederic being

* Count Andrew Razumoffsky ſeemed formed for pleaſing princeſſes: for it is aſſerted, that the queen of Naples granted him extraordinary favours.

† In the year 1781.

informed

informed that, while the demarcations of Poland were carrying on, the commiſſioners of the co-partitioning powers could neither agree among themſelves nor with the Poles, had requeſted that his brother might go and confer with the empreſs, in order to terminate the differences attempted to be raiſed between the court of Ruſſia and that of Berlin. Prince Henry was eager to comply with that deſire.

The ſame honours were paid to prince Henry as at the firſt time of his coming to Ruſſia. He entered the reſidence at a late hour. It was on Eaſter-eve. The empreſs, always attentive to flatter the ſuperſtitious propenſity of the multitude, paſſed the greater part of the night in the chapel, with all her court. Prince Henry could not ſee her till the enſuing day. He diſcourſed with her often in private on the obſtacles that had ſprung up in Poland; and he found it not difficult to remove them. It was in one of theſe converſations, that the empreſs having ſtarted ſome objections, prince Henry ſuddenly replied:—"Madam, I ſee one ſure "method of obviating all difficulty. It may "perhaps be diſpleaſing to you on account of "Poniatoffsky: but you will nevertheleſs do "well to give it your approbation; ſince com-"penſations may be offered to that monarch,

"of

" of greater value to him, than the throne " which is continually tottering under him.— " The remainder of Poland muſt be parti- " tioned."

This idea pleaſed the ambitious Catharine; and the annihilation of Poland was decreed.

The grand ducheſs having unfortunately died *, without leaving an heir to inherit the empire, the grand affair of ſucceſſion was a matter of too much importance, to be governed or limited by thoſe forms which prevail in ordinary caſes of a ſimilar nature. Accordingly the obſequies of Natalia Alexievna were ſcarcely ended, when the empreſs began to turn her thoughts to providing a ſecond conſort for her ſon. She told prince Henry that ſhe had caſt her eyes on the princeſs of Wirtemburg Stutgard, his niece, and that ſhe was deſirous of ſeeing an union between her and the grand duke.

The princeſs of Wirtemburg was already betrothed to the hereditary prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt: but prince Henry judging that the empire of Ruſſia muſt be of infinitely more value to her than the landgravate of Heſſe, immediately ſet about diſengaging her from her contract. He diſpatched a courier to the king of Pruſſia,

* On the 26th of April.

informing him of the intentions of the empreſs, and aſking his aſſent. Frederic made no heſitation. The union propoſed by his brother was too favourable to the ſcheme of drawing cloſer the ties that ſubſiſted between Ruſſia and Pruſſia, to allow him to heſitate in endeavouring to bring it to effect. He was acquainted with the paſſion with which the princeſs of Wirtemburg had inſpired the prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt; but when political concerns were in queſtion, what was love in the eyes of Frederic? He ſpoke himſelf to the young prince, and profited ſo ably of the aſcendant which he had over him, that the lover conceived it a matter of duty and reputation to make the ſacrifice of his paſſion.

Having ſecured the compliance of the prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, Frederic informed prince Henry of it, and by the ſame conveyance wrote to him, that the parents of the princeſs of Wirtemburg would by no means oppoſe the elevation of their daughter. In theſe diſpatches he invited the grand duke to pay a viſit to Berlin, as he was deſirous, previous to the coming to any concluſion, that the prince ſhould ſee the new ſpouſe that was deſigned for him. He was himſelf extremely happy in ſeizing this occaſion for making a perſonal acquaintance with the grand duke.

Catharine,

Catharine, ſatisfied with theſe arrangements, ſet about making conſiderable preparations, in order that her ſon might accompany prince Henry on his return. She allotted 40,000 rubles for the journey of the princeſs of Wirtemburg. She called to Peterſburg marſhal Romantzoff, who reſided in his government of the Ukraine, and charged him to attend the grand duke to Berlin.—" It is only," ſaid ſhe, " to the friendſhip of prince Henry, and to the " moſt illuſtrious ſupporter of my throne, that " I can conſent to truſt my ſon."

It was towards the cloſe of ſummer, when the grand duke ſet out the firſt from Tzarſko-ſelo *; the next day prince Henry took leave of the empreſs. Whatever were her majeſty's ſentiments, ſhe ſeemed much affected at the departure of both the one and the other. Scarcely had the travellers joined one another at Riga, before they received ſeveral letters from her. The following is that which ſhe wrote with her own hand to prince Henry.

" I take the liberty of tranſmitting to your " royal highneſs, the four letters of which I

* Marſhal Romantzoff, count Nicholas Soltikoff, prince Kourakin, and the boyar Nariſhkin accompanied him on his journey.

" ſpoke to you, and which you promiſed to " take care of. The firſt is for the king your " brother, and the others for the princes and " princeſſes of Wirtemburg. I venture to pray " you, that if my ſon ſhould beſtow his heart " on the princeſs Sophia, as I have no doubt " but he will, to deliver the three latter ac- " cording to their directions, and to ſupport " the contents of them with that perſuaſive " eloquence with which God has endowed " you.

" The convincing and reiterated proofs " which you have given me of your friendſhip, " the high eſteem which I have conceived for " your virtues, and the extent of the confi- " dence which you have taught me to repoſe " in you, leave me no doubt on the ſucceſs " of a buſineſs which I have ſo much at " heart. Was it poſſible for me to place it in " better hands?

" Your royal highneſs is aſſuredly an unique " in the art of negotiation: pardon me that " expreſſion of my friendſhip. But I think " there has never been an example of an affair " of this nature tranſacted as this is. Accord- " ingly it is the production of the moſt intimate " friendſhip and confidence.

" That

" That princeſs will be the pledge of it. I " ſhall not be able to ſee her without recollect- " ing in what manner this buſineſs was be- " gun, continued, and terminated, between the " royal houſe of Pruſſia and that of Ruſſia. " May it perpetuate the connections which " unite us!

" I conclude by very tenderly thanking your " royal highneſs for all the cares and all the " troubles you have given yourſelf; and I be- " ſeech you to be aſſured that my gratitude, my " friendſhip, my eſteem, and the high conſi- " deration which I have for you, will terminate " only with my life.

" CATHARINE."

" Tzarſko-ſelo, June 11, 1776."

After having made a halt of 24 hours at Riga, and ſeen the manœuvres of ſeveral regiments encamped at ſome diſtance from the town, the two princes proceeded to Mittau, where they were received by the duke of Courland *. This duke was the ſon of the famous Biren, who had juſt finiſhed, in tranquillity, his long and ſtormy courſe. The grand duke received at Berlin the honours due to the heir

* The duke Charles.

of the imperial throne of Ruſſia *. Prince Henry preſented him to the king; who came out to meet them at the entrance of his apartment. The grand duke accoſted him by ſaying:

* The 21ſt of July, the grand duke made his public entry into Berlin, accompanied by prince Henry of Pruſſia; in the following order: Firſt appeared 24 poſtilions, ſounding their horns, commanded by ſix ſecretaries of the poſt, all in complete uniform; after theſe came the company of butchers, then that of archers; after them a conſiderable body of merchants, diſtinguiſhed by the elegance of their uniform: after theſe companies followed three ſuperb ſtate coaches, in which were, lieutenant-general Lentulus von Buddenbrock; count Werthern, miniſter of ſtate; major-generals Sobeck and Prittwitz, with ſome other gentlemen. A detachment of life-guards, followed by a running-footman, immediately preceded one of the king's coaches, with eight horſes, in which were the grand duke and prince Henry. This was one of the moſt ſuperb carriages ever ſeen; and was followed by three others, in which were, general field-marſhal count Romantzoff Zadunaiſki, general count Soltikoff, aud the chamberlain and gentlemen of his imperial highneſs. The proceſſion was cloſed by 100 men of infantry, being the guard of honour. The magiſtracy of the city received the princes under a triumphal arch, where upwards of 70 young maidens, dreſſed like nymphs and ſhepherdeſſes, preſented the grand duke with verſes, and a garland of flowers. The cannon fired, and the trumpets and other muſic ſounded from the beginning till the grand duke entered the palace.

" Sir,

" Sir, the motives which bring me from the " extremities of the north to theſe happy domi- " nions, are the deſire of aſſuring your majeſty of " the friendſhip and alliance to ſubſiſt henceforth " for ever between Ruſſia and Pruſſia; and the " eagerneſs to ſee a princeſs deſtined to aſcend " the throne of the ruſſian empire; who, by " my receiving her at your hands, I dare to " promiſe you, will be the more dear to myſelf " and to the nation over which ſhe is to reign; " and chiefly to ſee that boon granted me for " which I have been ardently wiſhing ſo long: " the ſatisfaction of contemplating the greateſt " of heroes, the admiration of our age, and the " aſtoniſhment of poſterity."

Frederic was in haſte to reply:—" I am not " deſerving of ſo much praiſe, my prince. In " me you have before you only a poor grey- " headed valetudinarian. But be aſſured that " I think myſelf extremely happy in receiving " within theſe walls the worthy heir of a power- " ful empire, the only ſon of my beſt friend, " the great Catharine *."

* Notwithſtanding this language, Frederic had written, and cauſed to be circulated in Berlin, an anonymous letter, in which he ſpoke of the foibles of the *grande* Catharine with ſo circumſtantial an accuracy, that it had very much the air of a ſatire.

The pruſſian monarch then turned towards marſhal Romantzoff, and added: "Conqueror "of the Ottomans, you are welcome here! "I find a great reſemblance between you and "my general Winterfeldt *."

"Sir," returned the marſhal, "I ſhould be "flattered by reſembling, even imperfectly, a "general who has ſo gloriouſly diſtinguiſhed "himſelf in the ſervice of Frederic."

"Oh," replied the king, "you have far "greater reaſon to be proud of the victories "which will hand down your name to the lateſt "poſterity †."

* General Winterfeldt was much beloved by the king of Pruſſia. It was he who ſaved the army which the hereditary prince, father of the late king Frederic William II. commanded in Luſatia, when he quarrelled with his brother.

† Frederic had a great eſteem for the brave Romantzoff. The compliments he addreſſed to him, remind us of what he ſaid ſome years before to field-marſhal Razumoffsky, formerly favourite of the empreſs Elizabeth.—Razumoffſky was preſent at a review held before Frederic at Potſdam. That prince aſked him how he liked the evolutions?—Razumoffsky, ſomewhat embarraſſed, made anſwer: "Sir, I am only a civil general."—"Oh!" replied Frederic, "we know nothing of that here."

After

After a converſation, which laſted about half an hour, with Frederic, the grand duke went to the queen, in whoſe apartments many perſons of the court were aſſembled. Here he ſaw the princeſs of Wirtemburg. Prince Henry, in the name of the empreſs of Ruſſia, made the demand of the princeſs in marriage for the grand duke; and the ceremony of the contract took place the ſame day. After this there was an extraordinary court, at which were preſent all the foreign miniſters, and every perſon of diſtinction. The whole company ſupped with the queen, in great magnificence; and the next day dined with her majeſty.

Feaſts and entertainments ſucceeded without interruption, at Charlottenburg, at Potſdam, and at Sans-Souci. But that which muſt have moſt delighted marſhal Romantzoff, was the view of the exerciſes of the garriſon of Potſdam. Frederic made his troops perform their manœuvres by ſquare battalions, in imitation of the bloody battle of Kayal, where the Ruſſians gained a complete victory over the Ottomans.

Prince Henry then accompanied the grand duke to Rheinſburg, where he gave him a feſtivity that laſted four days, and in which he diſplayed

diſplayed no leſs taſte than ſumptuouſneſs and magnificence *.

On the 3d of Auguſt, after quitting Rheinſburg, the grand duke took leave of the royal family; when the king made him the following preſents: a deſſert ſervice, and a coffee ſervice, with ten vaſes of china, of the manufacture of Berlin; a ring with the king's portrait, ſurmounted with a diamond valued at 30,000 crowns; a ſet of pruſſian horſes; and four pieces of rich tapeſtry.

Paul Petrovitch returned to Peterſburg; and it was not long before the princeſs of Wirtemburg was there likewiſe. She embraced the greek religion, with the uſual formalities †, adopting the name of Maria Feodorovna, and was married to the grand duke ‡. Twenty years

* At the departure of prince Henry, the empreſs gave him very magnificent preſents; as well as to all the perſons of his ſuite.

† The ceremony was performed by his eminence Gabriel, metropolite archbiſhop of St. Peterſburg and Novgorod.

‡ Of this marriage are born, three princes and five princeſſes:

1. Alexander Pavlovitch, born December 12, 1777. Married to Elizaveta Alexievna, born January 13, 1779.

2. Conſtantine Pavlovitch, born April 27, 1779. Married Anna Feodorovna, born September 12, 1781.

3. Nikolai

years after their nuptials, this imperial couple aſcended together the throne of Ruſſia *.

Catharine, having given a ſecond conſort to her ſon, extended the boundaries of her vaſt empire, and extinguiſhed the flames of rebellion in the remoter provinces, might now reaſonably be expected to repoſe in the tranquil enjoyment of her power. But repoſe was not made for her aſpiring ſoul; ſedate and quiet pleaſures could never ſatisfy her reſtleſs genius. She was ever on the purſuit of farther glory, or, perhaps, as ſome will have it, of that celebrity which is not always real fame; and there was nothing which ſhe would not have ſacrificed to that ardent deſire. When her armies had ceaſed to gain victories beyond her frontiers, fame muſt prepare for her other triumphs. All Europe reſounded with the brilliant acts of her munificence; with the encouragements ſhe afforded to the arts and ſciences, the prizes

3. Nikolai Pavlovitch, born June 25, 1796.
4. Alexandra Pavlovna, born July 29, 1783.
5. Elena Pavlovna, born December 13, 1784.
6. Maria Pavlovna, born February 4, 1786.
7. Ekatarina Pavlovna, born May 10, 1788.
8. Anna Pavlovna, born January 7, 1795.

* On the death of Catharine II, which happened November 17, 1796.

which

which ſhe aſſigned to talents, the bounties which ſhe ſhowered upon foreigners, and the numerous inſtitutions which ſhe created for augmenting the induſtry and the riches of her people. The juſt encomiums beſtowed on her by thoſe who had been benefited by her liberality, were re-echoed in the gazettes of every nation.

Since the regeneration which Peter the great began with his people, national cultivation had occaſionally been a matter of public concern. To that great prince the academical gymnaſium and the marine cadet corps owe their origin. Among his ſucceſſors the empreſſes Anne and Elizabeth diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the proſecution of theſe important plans. During the reign of the former were laid the foundations of the greateſt ſeminary of education in the ruſſian empire, the land-cadet corps; and Elizabeth gave birth to the academy of arts, while ſhe enlarged the inſtitution of that of the marine, which had been founded by Peter.

But reſplendent as theſe beneficial works appear in the annals of the age, yet are they eclipſed by the later proviſions, if we purſue the hiſtory of ruſſian civilization and improvement through the times of Catharine II. This monarch, immortal in the chronicles of the world

by

by numberleſs acts of her life, but peculiarly memorable in the minds of philanthropiſts and philoſophers, by legiſlation and the erection of ſchools, completed the plan of her great predeceſſor for the illumination and improvement of the nation, upon ſuch principles and to ſuch an extent, as he himſelf, with his prodigious mind, could never have imagined poſſible in a period ſo near to his own. Guided by her hand, the maſs of uſeful knowledge which had before been confined to the city of Peterſburg, and kept more for oſtentation than for public benefit, was diſtributed in thouſands of ſmaller channels, diffuſing itſelf over all the country, every where enriching the ſoil, and rendering it ſuſceptible of a higher cultivation.

The public inſtitutions for national improvements, now flouriſhing, owe their origin, for the greater part, but all of them without exception their enlargement and amelioration, to the late empreſs Ekatarina Alexievna. For a more regular ſurvey of theſe important objects, it may not be amiſs to reduce them to a certain order, according to their principal aims; and this will beſt be done by diſtributing them into ſix claſſes.

The firſt compriſes five inſtitutions, chiefly devoted to military education; and of theſe the land-

land-cadet corps, on account of its more general purpoſe, and its magnitude and importance, is the firſt in rank. For this reaſon, and becauſe the method practiſed in this inſtitution is the ground-work of that followed in all the other military education corps, it will be neceſſary to be a little circumſtantial in the account of it.

To begin then with the locality of this remarkable eſtabliſhment. The circuit of its premiſes, which amounts to the ſpace of two verſts and an half, is partly occupied by the neceſſary buildings, and partly converted into a large garden, with ſpacious grounds for bodily recreation. The main body of the edifice was formerly the palace of prince Mentſhikoff, in which it was firſt inſtituted, conſiſting of only two ſtories above the baſement, and, with the continuation of the building by the empreſs, forms a line of 366 fathoms. Both the outward and inward conſtruction are, ſuitably to its deſign, extremely ſimple; all is adapted to convenience, and nothing made for ſhew. It contains, beſides the neceſſary lodging-rooms, dormitories, ſchool-rooms, and apartments for the ſick, three ſpacious halls for recreation, ſufficiently well fitted up for the place. In the part which was the palace are ſaloons more ornamented, for balls and aſſemblies.

blies. This and the reſt of the building contain, beſides, the chancery, a manege, a letter-foundery, and a printing-office, a cabinet of natural hiſtory, a library, a theatre for dramatical repreſentations, a ruſſian church, and a lutheran and a roman catholic chapel.—So much for the topography of this large and capacious inſtitution, which in many reſpects is the only one of its kind: and now a few lineaments for characterizing the organization of it.

The land-cadet corps, at leaſt according to its main intent, is a military ſchool: the ſyſtem of education, and of courſe the conduct and management of it, are military. The direction of the whole inſtitution was, on its renewed eſtabliſhment in 1766, committed to a general director, to whom was given a council of adminiſtration, conſiſting of four perſons named by the empreſs. The council, however, no longer ſubſiſts; for, on the appointment of count Anhalt to the poſt of chief inſpector without any limitation, it naturally became extinct. In the general management of the whole the lieutenant-colonel of the corps is his aſſiſtant; all the other perſons of the eſtabliſhment have their peculiar functions in due ſubordination.

About every third year the corps admits 120 boys, from five to ſix years old. Among the requiſites

requiſites for admiſſion are, that the father be noble, that is, have the rank of a ſtaff-officer in the civil or military ſervice, and that the child be perfectly healthy, and therefore he is ſubmitted to the examination of the phyſician. Applications for admittance in behalf of children whoſe fathers are poor, or have loſt their lives in fighting for their country, or are ſent hither from very remote provinces, are to be preferred. Such as are once received cannot, under any pretence whatever, be taken away, but muſt continue in the inſtitute till they have completed their education. Beſides theſe 120 boys, five others are admitted on the ſame conditions, on exhibitions founded by the privy-counſellor Betzkoï; and in the year 1772 the empreſs depoſited the ſum of 100,000 rubles, devoting the intereſt of it to the purpoſe of extending every reception to fifteen or more boys, whoſe fathers were not of the rank of a ſtaff-officer. The number admitted at each reception is, therefore, 140 and upwards, and that of all the cadets exceeds 700.

On their reception the cadets enter the firſt age or claſs, wear a brown ſailor's dreſs, with a blue ſaſh, and are put under the care of women; to which end a directreſs, with ten gouvernantes, and ſeveral nurſes, are appointed. After three years

years they are advanced into the ſecond age, where they are put into a dreſs like the former, but of blue colour, and are committed to the care of eight governors headed by an inſpector. The attendants here are much fewer than in the firſt age. After a like period of three years, the pupils paſs on to the third age, which wears a grey dreſs, and the care of which is in the hands of field-officers. When the cadets have here likewiſe paſſed three years, which is alſo the ſtated period with the following ages, they enter the fourth, or firſt military age, in which they change their former dreſs for a ſimple and proper uniform. In this and the fifth age they are under the care of the officers of the corps, who have one degree of precedence in rank above the marching regiments. The ſtaff conſiſts, beſides the lieutenant-colonel, of two majors, ſix captains, twelve lieutenants, and ſix enſigns.—The other officers of the eſtabliſhment are, a police-maſter, a maſter of the horſe, (at preſent) 65 teachers, of whom ſome have the title of profeſſors, ſeveral maſters for drawing, fencing, and dancing, a phyſician, a ſtaff-ſurgeon, and two aſſiſtants, an apothecary, an upper and two inferior ſtewards; and, beſides the officers of the chancery and all the people belonging to the

interior œconomy of the corps, a greek, a lutheran, and a roman-catholic clergyman.

The general end of the eſtabliſhment naturally branches out into the following ſubordinate aims: phyſical, moral, ſcientific, and military education. The importance of an inſtitution in which a great and mighty empire ſtriving after improvement endeavours to attain an object of ſo much conſequence to the welfare of the whole, by ſuch a number of young citizens from the foremoſt claſſes of the nation, is too remarkable an object of inveſtigation for admitting a ſuppoſition, that an impartial account of it here can be thought out of place.

If ſome particular parts of this grand foundation may here and there be juſtly liable to cenſure, (and what human inſtitution is not?) yet it can leaſt of all be caſt on the phyſical education. The ſyſtem of it is calculated for hardening the conſtitution, but without degenerating into barbarity, or endangering the life of the young pupils by pædagogical experiments. The great fundamental maxim of phyſical education in great inſtitutions, cleanlineſs, is here carried to a higher degree than uſual in ſuch places. The clothing is ſufficient and convenient; but even in the greateſt ſeverity of the winter,

winter, neither pelice or cloak is allowed. The food of the cadets is ſimple and well prepared; at noon they have butcher's meat, in the evening only boiled fruits, vegetables, and the like. Their breakfaſt is a roll, their afternoon luncheon a ſlice of black bread, and their drink water. To each age a ſpacious dormitory is appropriated, which in winter is but very little heated, and every cadet has his own neat bed. The ordering of the day, in regard to bodily education, is this: In the morning every body is up at five; the time till ſeven is devoted to cleanlineſs, breakfaſt, &c. From ſeven to eleven, they are employed at their leſſons in the ſchool, in which period, however, a ſhort pauſe intervenes, in which they may leave the ſchool-room. The laſt hour of the forenoon is deſtined to bodily exerciſes. About twelve, dinner is ſerved; till two is play-time. From two till ſix are hours of inſtruction; then again a pauſe for recreation. About ſeven o'clock the bell rings to ſupper: the reſt of the day is devoted to preparation for the morning, repetitions, &c. By the time the clock has ſtruck nine, all are in bed.—The ſpace from one day to the other is therefore divided into three equal parts; eight hours ſleep, eight hours ſedentary employment, and eight hours exerciſe and recreation; a pro-

portion the beſt adapted to the human frame. The manner in which this laſt period is filled up is not leſs adequate to its proper end. Three large ſaloons are principally deſtined to the purpoſes of recreation. Here the cadets may exerciſe themſelves in fencing, vaulting, and other arts of corporeal agility; and for amuſements of a higher order ample proviſion is made. Books, news-papers, journals, globes, orreries, and ſpheres, offer them a variety of entertainment: even the decorations with which the walls of theſe ſaloons are furniſhed, invite them to learning under the form of amuſement. In the ſaloon of the fourth and fifth ages are placed the buſts of the great men of antiquity, and the figures of remarkable perſons of our own times: the recreation-halls of the other ages, inſtead of hangings, are painted with repreſentations of the ſeveral nations of the ruſſian empire in their proper dreſſes. In ſummer, during which ſeaſon the military ages remain encamped for ſeveral weeks ſucceſſively, the garden belonging to the corps becomes a ſource of various entertainment to the young pupils. Here little fields and gardens are laid out and cultivated with their own hands, by which means they learn the labours of agriculture in ſmall practical eſſays. In all theſe recreations and paſtimes they

they are conſtantly attended by the inſpectors, who are obliged to watch over their bodily and mental occupations.

The ſyſtem of phyſical education is auſtere; that of the moral is mild and benign. The grand object is to prevent immorality, in order not to be forced to puniſh it. The firſt and moſt important means made uſe of to this end, is uninterrupted inſpection. This, and conſequently the whole moral nurture, is entruſted to the governors and officers. Each of them has a ſtated number of cadets under his particular inſpection, for whoſe conduct he muſt be reſponſible. Even in the hours of ſtudy ſome of them are conſtantly preſent, as the teachers have nothing to do but with the leſſons; the ſame practice is obſerved in the recreation-halls and the ſleeping-rooms. As in this reſpect all depends on the moral character of the inſpector, it naturally follows that extreme caution is uſed in the choice of perſons to fill theſe ſtations; and never perhaps has the cadet corps ſhewn greater attention in this reſpect than while under the direction of count Anhalt. Honour and ſhame are the only motives which the plan preſcribed for this inſtitution allows. Corporal puniſhments are abſolutely prohibited; on all occaſions of momentous faults ſlight military

chaſtiſements and marks of diſgrace are employed; the cadets are put upon bread and water, they are refuſed permiſſion to viſit their parents, relations, &c. The ſentiment of honour is awakened and kept up by diſtinctions and rewards, which conſiſt in little preſents and diſtribution of prizes of books, inſtruments, or in gold and ſilver medals, marks affixed to the coat, and the like. This gentle mode of education, which with children of good diſpoſitions is productive of excellent effects, ſeems, however, to be rather too generally calculated; for, according to this maxim, which is very ſtrictly followed, there are ſcarcely any methods of correcting the lazy, the perverſe, and inſenſible, of which ſort we may ſuppoſe not a few among ſo large a number. The inſpectors, as already obſerved, being all people of good moral character, and of decent behaviour, the cadets have little or no opportunity of ſeduction. They are but ſeldom, by eſpecial permiſſion of the chief, never without an attendant, and only for a few hours of the Sunday, allowed to go out of the houſe, to viſit their parents and relations, who have, however, frequent opportunities of ſeeing and talking with them in the corps. Throughout the winter a public aſſembly is held once a month on a Sunday, to which all well-dreſſed people

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are admitted. The cadets, diſpoſed according to their ages, two and two, and accompanied by martial muſic, enter the ſaloon, where they are ſeparated from the ſpectators only by a cordon, with whom they may converſe, but not accept of either money or preſents from any one. To inſpire them with a becoming boldneſs, they are here exerciſed in dancing; and in the ſame view they are allowed once a year to act in their own theatre, a handſome building, and very elegantly fitted up. At times, but very rarely, a public ball is given; at which the children of the ſeminary for young ladies are preſent. So long as the cadets are proſecuting their ſtudies in the cadet corps, they may not poſſeſs either money or any thing that is not allowed them by the plan of the inſtitution; accordingly, the ſon of the wealthieſt prince is not permitted to wear finer linen or handſomer clothes than the pooreſt of his ſchool-fellows.

The reſult of this mode of education is, in the preſent ſtate of things, extremely beneficial. Miſchief, intrigue, immorality, and all the vices which commonly harbour in great ſchools, are here not to be found: on the contrary, a certain good humour and amiable docility prevails, at leaſt among the far greater number. If we may judge from the young men who have been lately

let out of the corps, no prominent caſt of character is viſible, that may reaſonably be attributed to its particular method of education; on the contrary, from the obſervations that have been made, a great variety appears, according to the various diſpoſitions and the diverſity of interior frame. It may always ſuffice, and more than ſuffice, if the accidental combinations of an education of 15 years, very complicated, applied to 700 heads and hearts, and calculated on one plan, enable the ſeminary to return the materials it had to work upon not worſe in ſubſtance and better in form, than it received them from the hand of creative nature.

As the moral department is committed to the inſpectors alone, the tutors have only to do with what relates to ſcience; it is therefore clearly ſeen, that theſe two objects are completely diſtinct. The inſtruction is divided into military and civil; the former is only appointed for the fourth and fifth ages, and for ſuch of the noble youths as devote themſelves to the military ſervice. The branches of learning that are at preſent taught, are, beſides the general elements of grammar and religion—the ruſſian, german, and french languages, geography, ſtatiſtics, hiſtory, natural hiſtory, natural philoſophy, belles lettres, logic, civil and military architecture, geometry, and algebra,

algebra. Moreover, the pupils of the corps, according to their age, are inſtructed in drawing, dancing, riding, fencing, vaulting, turning in wood and ivory, recitation and declamation, admeaſurement and ſurveying of land, &c. Each age is divided into five claſſes in regard to inſtruction, ſo that on an average not more than 28 are together in any one. The branches of knowledge taught in every claſs are perfectly adapted to its particular age; and in general this method is not blameable. But the method of inſtruction itſelf is here liable to very ſevere cenſure; for certainly all is not done, which, conſidering all things, might reaſonably be required. It is not to he denied that, with the exception of ſome very accompliſhed and well-informed young men, which the corps has given to the country, the greater part do not fully come up to the expectations which the public have a right to form from the magnitude apd extent of the means employed. The fault lies neither in the negligence of the direction—for who that knows any thing of Peterſburg is unacquainted with the unwearied activity and honeſt zeal of the late count Anhalt?—nor in the want of expert people, for the corps pays ſalaries to 65 of them, among whom are men of talents, reputation, and pædagogical experience; but in the

plan

plan and the method of inſtruction. In the firſt place, the total ſeparation of ſcientific and moral education, and the conſequent want of all authority in the tutors, is one of its principal defects. If the tutor has not the power to puniſh inattention, idleneſs, and diſobedience, at his own diſcretion and on the ſpot, but muſt, in every particular caſe that happens, apply to the governor or officer, who may not always be preſent juſt at the moment, and who, beſides, has not the power to puniſh any more than the former, but muſt report it to his ſuperior, and ſo upwards to the chief; it is infallibly certain, that out of 100 caſes ſcarcely one will be complained of, and therefore that the obſtinate offender has every probability in his favour, that he will come off with impunity in 99. Now, when the chief, on every ſingle inſtance of this nature that occurs, conſiders his inſtructions and the ſpirit of the ſtatutes, and, deceived by the apparent rarity of ſuch caſes, is always willing to proceed with as much lenity as poſſible, it is eaſy to imagine how much the ſpirit of inſubordination muſt be continually gaining ground, and how little the tutor, even with the beſt intentions, is able to perform. A ſecond defect is in the want of a regular and conſiſtent plan for the inſtruction. The corps has a great many, and, for the moſt part, very

excellent

excellent books of inſtruction; but they are deficient in ſyſtematic connection. The tutors have no regular plan to go by, no fixed ſtatement by which to regulate their procedure. It is therefore very poſſible, that, to give but one inſtance, in three or four ſucceſſive claſſes, the ſame thing ſhall be taught over again; or that it ſhall be delivered circumſtantially and at large in the lower claſſes, but very curſorily in the higher.—The moſt important obſtacle is, laſtly, that but very few of the leſſons are delivered in the ruſſian language. The conſequences of this defect are ſo manifeſt, that it would be ſuperfluous to ſay any thing farther upon it; eſpecially as a very ſuitable remark on this defect in the method purſued was made by the empreſs in a general plan ſigned by herſelf.—Several other ſlight defects are paſſed over in ſilence, as having but little influence, and might be eaſily removed, if the more conſiderable ones were remedied.

The reſult of the ſcientific education may be eaſily calculated from the foregoing ſketch. Talents will burſt through the greateſt obſtacles; and for the well-diſpoſed and inquiſitive youth the ſources of inſtruction are amply ſufficient. If now and then a cadet is ſent out, who, after fifteen years of inſtruction can ſcarcely ſpeak

french, in which moſt of his knowledge has been conveyed: yet, on the other hand, there are many who, while yet pupils, have enriched their mother-tongue with good tranſlations from foreign languages, and ſpeak and write both the one and the other to a degree of perfection that does honour to their underſtanding and diligence, and ſhields the tutors from a cenſure that does not belong to them, but to the accidental connection of things, under the influence whereof they act.

The military education is ſaid, by ſuch as underſtand the ſubject, to be adequate to the deſign of the inſtitution. The more eſſential part of it, theoretical inſtruction in the ſeveral departments of military knowledge, is provided for by ſkilful teachers and experienced officers. In ſummer, for ſix or eight weeks, the cadets live entirely in camp, where they ſtudy the practical part of the ſervice, and are taught the manœuvres and evolutions. Before they quit the camp, a public review is held, at which naturally a great part of the public attend as ſpectators.

After a period of fifteen years, during which the government has fed, clothed, and prepared for their general and particular deſtination, 240 young citizens, they are ſent out as lieutenants, (as they receive good or bad credentials, as

captains or enſigns,) or if they chooſe to devote themſelves to civil functions, in the ſame civil ranks, without any obligation whatever towards the inſtitute. Great as the benefit is, which the ſtate beſtows by this education on the poorer part of its citizens, great is likewiſe the advantage which it receives from it in return; for if even the balance could be more favourable for the ſtate, yet it is undoubtedly true, that it is favourable.—The whole education of a cadet, from his reception to his diſmiſſion, coſts 4410 rubles.

It is hoped this deſcription needs no apology for its prolixity, as it enables us to treat more briefly the following objects; which are all of them founded on the ſame principles.

The ſea-cadet-corps admits 600 pupils, on the ſame conditions with the land-cadet-corps, which are divided into five companies of 120 each, and are to be brought up to the ſea-ſervice. The inſtruction comprehends, beſides the general branches of knowledge, principally the particular requiſites of this deſtination; theſe are, nautical geography, aſtronomy, the art of the pilot and the ſhip-builder, and the engliſh language; as alſo, among other bodily exerciſes, climbing, ſwimming, and the like. The cadets of the firſt company, who wear a uniform, and are called marines, are ſhewn the

the practical ſea-ſervice; and go upon a cruiſe once a-year in the Baltic. They muſt have made at leaſt three of theſe voyages, ere they are diſmiſſed from the corps, and then they enter as midſhipmen in the fleet. This inſtitution, which was till lately at Cronſtadt, is now removed to Oranienbaum, the palace which was the uſual reſidence of Peter III. and is under the direction of an admiral, the inſpectors being officers of the fleet.

The engineer and artillery-cadet-corps admits 360 of noble families, and 85 ſons of ſoldiers. The denomination of this inſtitution ſhews its deſtination. The cadets are divided into companies, whereof the younger wear the dreſs of the light-horſe, and the elder the artillery uniform. The ſoldier-boys form a ſeparate company. The direction of the whole is committed to a general of the artillery; and the places of inſpector are filled by artillery-officers. Inſtruction and education are here chiefly military. The former, beſides the three uſual languages, extends principally to natural hiſtory, mathematics, artillery, fortification, tactics, and military drawing; and is adminiſtered by 58 tutors, over whom a director of ſtudies is placed. This corps has the reputation of being excellently conducted in all the branches

branches of the art of war which belong to the deſign of it. The military exerciſes in camp during the ſummer, draw together a great multitude of ſpectators, who are particularly delighted with the agility of the young engineers, and the dexterity of their performances.—At their diſmiſſion the cadets are appointed cannoneers in the artillery, or conductors in the engineer corps; and the ſoldier-boys are made ſubaltern officers.

The grecian corps is for the education and training up of native Greeks, Albanians, &c. and is founded for 200 pupils; of whom however a great part are Ruſſians. The boys are admitted from the age of 12 to 16, and can only be received through the ruſſian conſuls, who ſend them to St. Peterſburg at the expence of the empreſs. The aim of this inſtitution is leſs military than that of the foregoing; yet the direction and inſpection are managed by officers, and the cadets wear uniforms. The inſtruction, for which 25 teachers are appointed, is ſuitable to that general deſtination; the italian and other languages are alſo taught here. When the education is completed, the cadets have the choice whether they will be officers or tranſlators in the ruſſian ſervice, or be ſent back to their own country.

In

In the page-corps, from 60 to 70 young nobles, who at the ſame time perform the uſual ſervice at court, are trained to civil and military ſtations. At their diſmiſſion they receive the rank of lieutenants or captains.

To the ſecond claſs of public eſtabliſhments for education may be reckoned, ſuch as have the ſciences for their principal object.

To medicine and ſurgery three of them are devoted. The medicinal and chirurgical ſchool admits 30 pupils, who, according to age and previous knowledge are made capable of higher inſtruction. Beſides this number, who are maintained entirely at the imperial expence, the inſtitution is open to 50 more youths, in conſideration of a moderate payment. Seven profeſſors here diſſeminate the neceſſary inſtruction, which extends to the principal branches of medicinal ſcience. In the clinic hoſpital the ſenior pupils are introduced to practice. With this inſtitute is connected a practical ſchool for the art of midwifery.—Similar ſchools are added to the two great hoſpitals for ſoldiers and ſailors; in each of which 50 pupils are boarded and taught out of the imperial purſe. Theſe two inſtitutions are at preſent united and conſtituted upon an enlarged and improved plan.

The

The mine-cadet-corps admits 60 pupils, who are inſtructed in all the knowledge neceſſary for the working of mines, and are afterwards appointed officers at the mines. Ten boys of the lower orders, after they have gone through their courſe of education, are ſent, with a yearly allowance of 50 rubles, into foreign countries, where they muſt ſerve through the ſeveral gradations of employments in the mines, in order to their being made upper-paymaſters on their return home. This inſtitution, which is of great and acknowledged general utility, admits alſo boarders.

In the ſeminary of St. Alexander Nefsky, which is under the inſpection of the metropolitan, the ſons of prieſts are brought up to the prieſthood.

Laſtly, the gymnaſium of the academy of ſciences prepares 60 or 70 boys for uſeful callings of various kinds. They have free maintenance; and the moſt capable and expert of them are ſent, at the imperial expence, to foreign univerſities. This inſtitution, which alſo admits young men as boarders at their own charges, has preſented to the ſtate ſeveral uſeful and learned perſons.

The fine arts likewiſe have two inſtitutions devoted to their propagation and extenſion.

The moſt important and comprehenſive is the academy of arts, which ſerves the twofold purpoſe of an academy and a ſchool. To deſcribe it in the former of theſe regards, would be to ſwell our work beyond its proper limits; but as a ſchool, it is thus conſtituted: The number of ſcholars, who are the ſons of free parents of the lower claſſes of people, and are admitted at the age of ſix, is 325; of whom 25 are maintained by a foundation of the late privy-counſellor Betzkoy. Beſides theſe, the inſtitution takes alſo boys in conſideration of a yearly payment. The pupils are divided into five claſſes, and are inſtructed, till their fourteenth year, in all the branches of knowledge neceſſary for a young artiſt; at which period they muſt fix upon one of the departments of practice taught in the academy. Theſe are: painting, engraving, ſculpture, muſic, architecture, and the making of a variety of artificial and mechanical works. Examinations and public exhibitions are annually held; and are frequented by a great concourſe of people. Such of the youths as ſhew moſt talent and induſtry, and have four times obtained the prize, are ſent, for ſix years, at the expence of the academy, to travel in England, Italy, and France: and when they have finiſhed their ſtudies, they are diſcharged

of

of all obligation to the inſtitution.—The academy has already brought many great talents to eminence, and rouſed many a ſleeping genius which would otherwiſe have been loſt to the arts; that this is at all times the caſe, would not certainly be expected. But it is much to be lamented, that even among the pupils of this ſchool who ſucceed, but few make their fortune in their own country. In the chief towns, where the arts are prized and rewarded, taſte and prejudice for foreign products oppreſs the courage and defeat the induſtry of the ruſſian artiſts; and in the provinces, talents of this claſs would in vain ſtrive to gain a livelihood. It is, therefore, the uſual fate of young artiſts to be obliged to abandon the firſt object of their education, to which perhaps they had addicted themſelves with the greateſt ardour, and take to any other trade by which they may earn their bread—happy, if the want of other knowledge does not oblige them to fall back into that low ſtate of dependence to which, for the moſt part, they ſeemed deſtined at their birth, and from which the munificence of Catharine had redeemed them.

A ſecond ſchool of this claſs is confined to the theatrical art alone. The pupils are of both ſexes, and are likewiſe taken from the lower

claſſes of the people, from the foundling-hoſpital, &c. The inſtruction compriſes all the objects of the theatre: declamation, muſic, dancing, geſticulation, and mimickry, which find here a very ſuſceptible ſoil, as the great natural turn of the nation co-operates to the attainment of a very early perfection. Several pupils of this ſchool have already performed at the theatre of the reſidence, and won for ever the applauſe of the public.

The navigation-ſchool is alſo a foundation of the empreſs Catharine. Here are taught the engliſh language, naval architecture, aſtronomy, navigation, &c. This eſtabliſhment takes 65 pupils, who are maintained and educated at the expence of the ſovereign, and admits other ſcholars for a trifling pay.

The education of the female ſex is not forgotten in this grand plan of national improvement, the particular parts of which we have now been ſurveying. One of the moſt valuable and important inſtitutions is devoted to this object: the ſeminary for the education of young ladies in the Voſkreſenſkoï * convent. This denomination it retains from the deſign in which it was built by the empreſs Elizabeth, and which

* Convent of the Reſurrection.

Catharine

Catharine II. now converted to the preſent more beneficial and generally-uſeful purpoſe.

The whole internal œconomy of this foundation is conducted, with ſome modifications, on the ſame principles with which the land-cadet-corps is organized. The number of the pupils, which are admitted at the age of ſix years, is 480, of whom one half are noble and the other of the burgher claſs. The direction is veſted in a convent; but the immediate care of it is aſſigned to a directreſs; the tuition being conducted by eight inſpectreſſes and forty claſs-ladies. The perſons appointed for the ſeveral functions of the inſtitution are, in a certain degree, ſimilar to thoſe in the land-cadet-corps.

The noble as well as plebeian young ladies are diſtributed into four claſſes, diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their dreſs. In each of which they remain three years; and, after this education of 12 years, they are diſmiſſed at the age of 18 or 19.—The principles of the phyſical education are in general the ſame as thoſe obſerved in the land-cadet-corps. The goodneſs of them is ſeen by the ſmall number of deaths in the inſtitute itſelf, and by the healthy blooming condition of the ladies who are diſmiſſed. For ſeveral years conſecutively not one perſon has died in the convent, and the morta-

lity of the moſt unfavourable year never amounted to above ſeven. The recreations and amuſements allowed to the pupils conſiſt alſo here in ſuitable exerciſes, ſuch as aſſemblies, dancing, and at times theatrical performances. The ſpirit of the ſyſtem of education is likewiſe in this place gentleneſs, and here too rewards are employed as the moſt effectual means of promoting diligence, They conſiſt chiefly in public marks of diſtinction, by ribbons and medallions worn within the walls: on their diſmiſſion ſix of the ladies, who have credentials from the directreſs of their good conduct and improvement, wear for life at their breaſt the cypher of the empreſs in gold. In this circumſtance likewiſe a diſtinction is obſerved, the two more eſpecially commended obtain a cypher much larger than the others. For the twelve next in ſucceſſion in regard to merit, ſix gold and as many ſilver medals are allotted.—The branches of knowledge, to which the pupils are brought up, are adapted to their future lot in life. They are taught ſeveral languages, particularly the french, the elements of religion, geography, hiſtory, natural hiſtory, epiſtolary writing, muſic, dancing, declamation, and acting. Thoſe of the burgher order who partake in this inſtruction are alſo brought up to various kinds of work.

The

The pupils diſmiſſed from this claſs are of great benefit to the country, in diffuſing a taſte for a more refined mode of life in the inferior ranks of ſociety; they even here and there ſuppiant the foreign females who are taken into great families for the purpoſes of education: but their lot is not always favourable to them. Accuſtomed to a delicate way of life, and raiſed by their improvements far above their relatives, they cannot always feel themſelves happy in their circle of acquaintance: a circumſtance which however is much alleviated by this, that on account of this very education, they are more eaſily married. In which caſe they receive from the beneficent inſtitute, to which they are indebted for their moral exiſtence, a portion of 100 rubles.

The ſixth and laſt claſs of public eſtabliſhments founded by Catharine in the reſidence alone, for in all the provinces of the empire ſhe inſtituted others of the ſame nature, comprehends the normal and popular ſchools, for all ſorts of young perſons. Peterſburg acquired in the year 1790 an upper ſchool, in which natural hiſtory and philoſophy, geometry, languages, &c. were taught; and in all the quarters of the town thirteen middle and inferior ſchools, in which the children of the common people are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, ruſſian hiſtory, and geography, &c.

and which all together have upwards of 3200 ſcholars, whereof 550 are girls, by far the greater part at the expence of her majeſty, including even the neceſſary books.

What reader, after taking this ſlight ſurvey of ſuch a variety of public-ſpirited inſtitutions, and which form but a very ſmall part of the number erected throughout the empire, is not aſtoniſhed at what has been done by a princeſs, who, in the prodigious plan ſhe concerted for the new-creation of her immenſe dominions, applied ſo maternal and appropriate a care to a peculiar, and, in the eyes of the generality of princes, ſo inſignificant a part of it? The money which ſhe beſtowed with a liberal hand on the foundation of theſe inſtitutions, the ſums which ſhe diſburſed for the ſupport of them, form indeed but one head of the grand meritorious undertakings by which Catharine the ſecond contributed to ſecure for ever the proſperity of her people; but this one head is a rule by which the whole may be computed. The following liſt ſhews the revenues of the public places of education, and the number of pupils boarded, clothed, and taught at the imperial expence.

The land-cadet-corps has	700 pupils, and		200,000 rubles.
Sea-cadet-corps —	600	—	120,000
Artillery cadet-corps	445	—	121,722

Grecian

Grecian cadet-corps	200 pupils, and	41,613 rubles.	
Page cadet-corps —	65		
Medicine and ſurgery ſchool	30		
Land and ſea hoſpit. ſchool	100	—	16,000
Mine-cadet-corps —	70	—	15,000
Clerical ſeminary			
Gymnaſium of the academy	65		
Academy of arts —	325	—	60,000
Theatre ſchool			
Navigation ſchool —	65		
Young ladies ſchool	480	—	180,000
Popular and normal ſchools	3200		
Education-houſe —	300		
Orphan-houſe —	100		

According to this imperfect ſurvey, therefore, in the 31 places of education here named, about 6800 children of both ſexes in the reſidence are brought up at the expence of government. The ſums ſet down amount to 754,335 rubles *per annum*.

Having thus taken notice of ſome of the inſtances of that beneficial care which the tranquillity of her empire allowed Catharine to beſtow upon its welfare, we now proceed with what was going forward at the palace.

Gregory Orloff being returned to court without having received a recall, ſeemed inſenſibly accuſtomed to ſee Gregory Alexandritch Potemkin occupying the firſt place about the throne of Catharine. Potemkin, proud of his influence, and

and more jealous of retaining the abſolute power he had acquired than the love of the empreſs, left her in the tranquil indulgence of her inclination for Zavadoffsky. For the ſpace of a year and a half this latter had filled the place of ſubaltern favourite; when all at once his ambition was rouſed. He had before his eyes the example of Potemkin. He imagined, that, like him, he might paſs from the embraces of the empreſs into the poſt of prime miniſter. But in order to this, he muſt firſt turn out Potemkin. He ſet about it with the utmoſt ardour; and began by attempting to render the deſpotiſm of Potemkin odious to the ſovereign. He obtained the concurrence of diſcontented officers, envious courtiers, and artful women. Potemkin, informed of theſe intrigues, and poſſeſſing far greater abilities than his rival, reſolved to cruſh him at once. An opportunity for which was almoſt immediately furniſhed him by chance.

A young Servian, named Zoritch, an officer in a regiment of huſſars, came to Peterſburg to look out for promotion. He was tall, well-built, and adapted to attract the notice of a voluptuous woman. Potemkin, who knew the inconſtancy and warmth of Catharine, gave Zoritch a captain's commiſſion, and put him in the way of that princeſs. She did not fail to

remark him. The next day Zavadoffsky was diſmiſſed. Zoritch took his place.

Zavadoffsky, who had already received many marks of bounty from the empreſs, had, at the inſtant of his departure, a gratification of 90,000 rubles, the addition of a penſion of 4000, and a conſiderable eſtate in land.

Zoritch at the ſame time received a landed property of the value of 120,000 rubles, together with the cuſtomary preſents. This new lover, without education, without experience, could give no umbrage to the haughty Potemkin. Contented with adminiſtering in obſcurity to the pleaſures of the empreſs, he took no other advantage of her favour, than what aroſe from ſecuring the influence and authority of the man to whom he was indebted for it. It was only with Potemkin that Catharine balanced the fates of Europe.

CHAP. X.

Relations between Ruſſia and Denmark.—Conduct of the ruſſian miniſters at Copenhagen.—Succeſs and misfortune of Struenſee.—Character of Bernſtorff.—Ceſſion of Schleſvig.—State of Sweden.—Revolution of 1772.—*Voyage of Guſtavus III. to St. Peterſburg.—Hoſtile diſpoſitions of the Turks.—Treaty of Conſtantinople.—Feſtivities.—Diſaſters.—Diſmiſſion of the favourite Zoritch.—Is ſucceeded by Rimſky Korzakoff.—Tranſactions of* 1776 *to* 1779.

EVER ſince the elevation of Catharine II. to the throne of Ruſſia, the court of Peterſburg had unremittedly kept up a correſpondence with that of Copenhagen, or rather had never ceaſed to exerciſe its influence over it. That influence, the work of Peter the great, had experienced ſome interruption under his ſucceſſors*. Catharine II. reſtored it to its full force. That princeſs had not inherited the animoſity and the

* For example, under Catharine the firſt, whoſe daughter was married to the heir of the houſe of Holſtein-Gottorp, between which and the houſe of Oldenburg there had been differences of long ſtanding.

projects

projects of Peter III. againſt Denmark; ſhe neither ſent out her fleets nor her armies to attack it: but ſhe well underſtood the art of keeping it long in ſuſpenſe, between the hope of obtaining the entire ceſſion of Schleſvig, and the dread of being deprived of that important poſſeſſion.

The court of Copenhagen was attached by ſtill another intereſt to Ruſſia. She could not cheriſh the expectation of being able perfectly to ſecure herſelf againſt the ambition of the kings of Pruſſia and Sweden, otherwiſe than by the alliance of Ruſſia; ſhe accordingly made continual efforts for contracting more cloſely the ties of that alliance. Under the adminiſtration of the empreſs Elizabeth, it had often had recourſe to preſents for purchaſing the good-will of the miniſters and favourites of that princeſs, and ſometimes even to grant them penſions*. Could ſhe then be leſs generous towards thoſe of Catharine, or were they themſelves more difficult than the former? However it be, as ſoon as that monarch thought herſelf ſafely fixed on her throne, ſhe reſolved to govern Denmark, as

* The court of Denmark made conſiderable preſents to the Shouvaloffs, to the Nariſhkins, and to ſeveral other courtiers. It conferred penſions on the ſtate-counſellors Volkoff and Oltzoufieff.

ſhe

ſhe did the reſt of the north, and no longer took any pains to keep fair with it.

She began by making an ungrateful return to count Ranzau Alchberg, who was miniſter from Denmark to Peterſburg in 1762. Ranzau having witneſſed the preparations made by Peter III. for the conqueſt of Holſtein, attached himſelf to Catharine's party, and even formed an intimate connection with prince Orloff. The empreſs made uſe of him in the endeavour to throw an odium on the warlike plans of her huſband; and Orloff let him into the ſecret of the conſpiracy that was carrying on againſt that prince. Flattered with this mark of confidence, Ranzau gave profitable advice to Orloff, and ſeconded him with all his might. The conſpiracy ſucceeded. Ranzau was at firſt well received by the empreſs; but coolneſs and even ſcorn preſently ſucceeded to theſe firſt movements of ſatisfaction, and Ranzau, thoroughly diſſatisfied with the empreſs and the favourite, ſet out on his return to Denmark.

Catharine, who doubtleſs took pleaſure in humiliating the court of Copenhagen, made choice of count Saldern for her envoy extraordinary to Denmark. Saldern, born in Holſtein, of very obſcure parents, had at firſt occupied an inferior poſt at Tritau, from which he was turned

turned out on account of ſome malverſation; afterwards he came to ſeek his fortune in Ruſſia. Of a bold and intriguing diſpoſition, he introduced himſelf to the court, and met with ſucceſs; and when the empreſs ſent him to Copenhagen, he behaved there with ſuch inſolence as to excite a more lively recollection of his extraction, and the diſgrace he underwent on being diſmiſſed from his former ſtation. He dared to ſpeak to the daniſh monarch and his miniſters in a tone of arrogance that was ſhocking to thoſe who heard him. He wanted to be informed of all the affairs that were carrying on, and pretended to direct in a dictatorial manner how they ſhould determine upon them. It was count Saldern, who, contrary to the opinion of the council and the wiſhes of the people, determined the king of Denmark to travel into England and France, a journey which was attended with conſequences ſo fatal to that feeble prince and his imprudent conſort!

Saldern was not content with gaining intelligence of all ſtate affairs; he intermeddled with the domeſtic concerns of the monarch, and directed the moſt trivial tranſactions. He placed about him perſons on whoſe devotedneſs to him he could at all times depend, and removed all who ſeemed adverſe to him. In a word, he exerciſed

exerciſed a deſpotiſm at once arrogant and trifling *.

When the empreſs recalled Saldern from Copenhagen, ſhe ſent in his place Philoſophoff, a man not leſs haughty, and not leſs jealous of maintaining the aſcendant of his court. Philoſophoff ſoon acquired in Denmark the ſame influence as his predeceſſor. This was indeed no difficult matter; the monarch was weak and his council timid. The ruſſian miniſter had only to pronounce the name of Holſtein, in order to make every thing ſubſervient to his will. We will here adduce one inſtance of the inquiſitorial authority which Philoſophoff arrogated to himſelf.

The count de Saint-Germain † was appointed miniſter at war in Denmark. Being intimately

* The young queen Caroline Matilda had as grande-maitreſſe of her houſe, and who was at the ſame time her favourite, madame de Pleſs, an amiable and ſenſible woman. This lady, incenſed at the manner in which Saldern had ſubjugated the king, thought it her duty to make ſome remonſtrances upon the matter to that prince. The king was weak enough to go and talk of it to Saldern; he immediately demanded the removal of madame de Pleſs; and, in ſpite of all the ſolicitations of the queen, madame de Pleſs was diſmiſſed.

† The ſame who had left France to go and ſerve in Denmark, and who afterwards returned to France, where he was made miniſter at war.

connected

connected with count Gœrtz, a german officer of very diſtinguiſhed merit, he offered him a poſt in the daniſh army, after having obtained the conſent of the monarch to that end. Philoſophoff was informed of it; and, whether he had any particular reaſon for entertaining an averſion for count Gœrtz, whether he was not willing that an officer of merit ſhould enter into the ſervice of Denmark, he immediately wrote to the king:—"I juſt now learn that you have "offered ſervice to count Gœrtz. I have "orders from my court to break off all commu-"nication with yours, and to quit Copenhagen, "rather than permit that intriguing and danger-"rous man to remain with you." Nothing more was neceſſary for preventing count Gœrtz from reaping any benefit from the offers that had been made him.

Nevertheleſs, the influence of Philoſophoff was diminiſhing in proportion as that of count Struenſee increaſed; and it was not till the moment of the bloody cataſtrophe of the latter, that the ruſſian miniſter reſumed his authority. Philoſophoff at firſt made ſome ineffectual efforts for removing Struenſee from the court. He had a twofold motive of antipathy towards him. He knew that Struenſee was in oppoſition to the

ruſſian party; and he could not forget that he had cauſed him to loſe the favours of one of the handſomeſt women of Copenhagen. Beſides, Philoſophoff was the ſtay of the old count Bernſtorff*, devoted to Ruſſia, and removed from the miniſtry by Struenſee.

We ſhall not here attempt to follow the labyrinth of theſe intrigues. Every body knows the lot that befel Struenſee; who, from phyſician, became the admirer of the young queen Caroline Matilda, and prime miniſter; and whoſe pride and imprudencies created him enemies, who ſoon brought him to the ſcaffold †. It is well known that the queen herſelf was impriſoned,

* Uncle of the preſent miniſter.—Philoſophoff, who had occaſion to go and take the waters of Pyrmont, would not ſet out without having obtained from the king of Denmark the promiſe not to make any change in the miniſtry of foreign affairs during his abſence. He took his departure. Bernſtorff was immediately diſplaced, and Ranzau Aſchberg put in his place; Ranzau Aſchberg, whom the conduct of Catharine had rendered the irreconcileable enemy of Ruſſia.

† Frederic II. ſaid, on being informed of the revolution of Denmark:—"Struenſee is a blockhead. A man ought "never to form ſuch connections with queens, unleſs they "reign in their own right, and when he is generaliſſimo of "their troops."

detruded

detruded from the throne, and exiled to Zell, where ſhe died of the exceſs of her grief*. The ruſſian miniſter beheld with ſatisfaction the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy plotted againſt Struenſee and the young queen; and he reaped the fruits of it. The queen dowager, Julia Maria †, who had brought about the revolution, held in her hands the reins of government. That princeſs was far from being ſo devoted to Ruſſia, as the unhappy king in whoſe name ſhe governed. But ſhe had too much ſenſe not to perceive the neceſſity of keeping upon good terms with Catharine and her artful miniſter.

* She died at the beginning of the year 1776. She had made herſelf much beloved by the people of Zell, by employing in acts of beneficence the greater part of the moderate penſion allowed her by the court of Denmark. The day on which the news of the death of that princeſs arrived at Copenhagen, there was to have been a ball at court. Endeavours were uſed to keep it a ſecret, that Caroline Matilda was no more; but the tidings were ſoon ſpread abroad: however, that circumſtance did not prevent the ball from going forward.

† Siſter of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick and the unhappy duke Anthony Ulric, who, as we have already ſeen, was kept in priſon at Kolmogory, near Archangel. The ruſſian prince Peter, brother to prince Ivan, murdered in 1764, died on the 13th of January 1798, at Horſens in Yutland, where he had reſided ſince 1780.

Ranzau was diſmiſſed. His reſtleſs ſpirit diſturbed the queen, whom he had ſo faithfully ſerved. But, though ſhe reſolved to remove him becauſe ſhe was afraid of him, ſhe pretended to adopt this meaſure only out of regard to Ruſſia.

The old count Bernſtorff had been dead ſome time. Philoſophoff was deſirous that the nephew of that miniſter ſhould fill the place that had been taken from him. He thought him worthy of it, no doubt, from his attachment to Ruſſia; the Danes had reaſon to think that he was the more ſo, from the ability he diſplayed in labouring for the good of his country.

Bernſtorff was of an advantageous ſtature, and had a noble figure. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf from his very youth by his politeneſs, his modeſty, his right way of thinking, and the moſt perſuaſive eloquence. In proportion as he advanced in age, his excellent qualities grew into a ſettled habit, and gained him the general eſteem of all his countrymen. Living at the court, and addicting himſelf to the ſtudy of politics, he was neither leſs ſimple in his manners, nor leſs frank in his diſcourſe. As a ſtateſman, he ſhewed great abilities; as a miniſter, he faithfully kept his word. Diligent

and indefatigable in buſineſs, he had a ready conception, and a happy manner of expreſſing his ideas *. An enemy to flattery, indifferent to pleaſure, evincing an uncommon preſence of mind and a temper always equal, he never ſuffered himſelf to be diverted from his purpoſe. He was never inflated by proſperity, nor dejected by misfortune. If his labours were crowned with ſucceſs, he knew that he would ſhortly have freſh obſtacles to ſurmount; if he failed, he perceived all the reſources that Fortune had ſtill to offer him. His only defect, perhaps, was rather too much attachment to his opinions, which he always defended with warmth. But this very defect was of ſervice to ſhew that Bernſtorff was honeſt, and would never deceive. Sprung from a family of the electorate of Hanover, Bernſtorff had a ſtrong predilection for the britiſh nation. He was alſo well acquainted

* Very eaſy of acceſs, communicative and affable, he frequently gave audience; and there was ſcarcely a private individual in tolerable circumſtances in all Denmark whom he did not know, and to whom he was not perſonally known. Neither was there ever in any country a man more generally beloved and eſteemed. It is well known, that the affranchiſement of the daniſh peaſants was owing to him, as well as the abolition of the negro-trade. A column is erected near Copenhagen, to teſtify to poſterity the gratitude of the peaſants.

with what was due to the court of Ruſſia. Notwithſtanding this, he was not leſs equitable towards other powers; and ſought with not leſs zeal the advantages of Denmark, to which he conſecrated all the hours of his life *.

No ſooner had he entered into the miniſtry, but Bernſtorff, faithful to the maxims of his uncle, bent all his efforts to obtain from Ruſſia the ceſſion of that part † of Holſtein to which it had all along kept up its pretenſions. He was not ignorant how much the corruption of the ruſſian miniſters was intereſted in holding Denmark in a ſtate of dependance on them; but it was in the very exceſs of that corruption that he deſcried one of the means of its emancipation. He knew likewiſe, that the pride of Catharine could only with great difficulty be brought to abandon the ſmalleſt portion of her dominions; and he undertook to employ that very pride to bring her to conſent to that ſurrender. Philoſophoff was firſt won over. Several perſons in the higher departments of government, favourites, ſecretaries, and agents, made mercenary bargains for their ſpeech or their ſilence. The

* Count Bernſtorff died at Copenhagen the 21ſt of June 1797. If he had been ſtill living, his encomium would not have been printed here.

† Schleſvig.

rapacious

rapacious Saldern, ſeduced by conſiderable preſents, ſcrupled not to hold a language quite different from that which he had hitherto held, and took the negotiation on himſelf. He repreſented to the empreſs that it was beneath her dignity to preſerve a weak principality, which made her dependent on the german empire. The imperious mind of Catharine, which was indeed hurt at this ſpecies of ſubjection, thought that ſuch language, dictated only by covetouſneſs and ſelf-intereſt, proceeded entirely from a tender concern for her glory. And this it was that induced her to make that ſurrender of all her claims upon Holſtein, for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorſt, which ſhe relinquiſhed, at the ſame time, to the prince-biſhop of Lubek: the treaty of exchange was ſigned at Kiel, the 16th of November 1773.

This event occaſioned infinite joy at Copenhagen. The day on which the treaty had been ſigned was celebrated with pomp *. It was not

* Bernſtorff received the moſt flattering teſtimonies of gratitude from his countrymen. The bounty of the court was extended to the whole of his family. The widow of the elder Bernſtorff, his uncle, was honourably gratified, and received a letter from the king with the portrait of that prince, on a medal round which was inſcribed, "In honour of the 16th of November 1773."

the ſame at St. Peterſburg. Catharine quickly diſcovered that ſhe had been the dupe of Bernſtorff's artifice. Saldern, whoſe malverſations were eaſily proved, fell into diſgrace. But the empreſs conſoled herſelf for the loſs of Holſtein, by the aſſurance of preſerving in Denmark an ally always ſubmiſſive, and ever ready to ſerve her againſt Sweden.

More nearly connected with Ruſſia, Sweden has alternately excited the dread and ambition of the court of Peterſburg. Peter the great had reſolved to annihilate that power; and the victories of Charles XII. were no obſtacles to his making himſelf maſter of four of its fineſt provinces *. The ſucceſſors of that prince inherited his projects; and the ruſſian nation preſerves an implacable hatred againſt a people whom ſhe at length overcame, but who made her purchaſe her conqueſts by torrents of blood. War on any pretence againſt Sweden cannot fail of being agreeable to that ferocious and vindictive nation. Every means of cruſhing her rivals cannot but be eagerly cheriſhed by the court of Ruſſia.

The ſwediſh nobility, divided into two factions diſtinguiſhed under the names of Caps and

* Livonia, Eſthonia, Carelia, and Ingria.

Hats,

Hats *, has but too much contributed to favour, by its diſſenſions, the ambition of Ruſſia. When count Panin, in the reign of the empreſs Elizabeth, was miniſter from that princeſs at Stockholm, the money he profuſely ſtrewed, and the connexions which he formed †, gave him an aſcendant which he dexterouſly made the inſtrument of oppoſing the ſenate to the court. He directed the one by his intrigues, while he kept the other in awe by acting on their fears. Count Oſtermann afterwards imitated, and even ſurpaſſed him. More impetuous, more active than Panin, he kept Sweden in a ſort of vaſſalage; and it may be affirmed that, while Frederic Adolphus ‡ lived, the miniſter of Ruſſia reigned in Stockholm. The view of this miniſter, doubtleſs, was nothing ſhort of diſpoſing Sweden to become a ruſſian province; but he flattered the nobles with the hope of making it a republic, under the protection of Ruſſia; a project which had been long conceived both by them and by lord Carteret §.

* It is well known that the party of the Hats has always been devoted to France, as that of the Caps is to Ruſſia.

† He was the known lover of the counteſs of Lovenhielm, who had great influence in the party of the Caps.

‡ He died in 1771, and was ſucceeded by Guſtavus III.

§ Upwards of 50 years ago.

On

On his acceſſion to the throne, Guſtavus III, mortified at the influence employed by Ruſſia, and at the authority of the ſenate of Stockholm, attempted to free himſelf from this double yoke.

The party of the Caps, which prevailed in the ſenate, had alſo the preponderance in the diet of 1772. Proud of the power which it had ſo often abuſed under Frederic Adolphus *, it reſolved to enlarge the bounds of it under his ſucceſſor, and preſcribed to that monarch the form of an oath different from that exacted by the fundamental laws of the country. Guſtavus III. ſigned this formulary without taking the pains to read it, reſerving to himſelf, doubtleſs, in ſo doing, a pretext for diſſolving the engagement which he was forced to contract.

This prince, who had already placed all his confidence in the counts Scheffer † and Salza, acted in concert with them and the ambaſſador

* This party, ſupported by Ruſſia, had ſeized upon all the lucrative places and all the poſts of honour in the adminiſtration; it was continually making uſurpations on the prerogatives of the crown, and intermeddled even in the petty affairs of his houſehold. Would it be believed that it had the inſolence to fix the quantity of wine that ſhould be drank at his table, and that it deprived him of the liberty of chooſing his own confeſſor?

† Charles Scheffer.

of

of France, the count de Vergennes, and they drew up together the plan of the revolution, as it was ſhortly after executed.

The diet, in a very ſhort time, began to conceive ſuſpicions concerning the deſigns of the young king. It took umbrage at the reſort of ſome officers, once or twice in every week, at the houſe of general Ramſay, who was known to be devoted to the court, and ſent an order forbidding the regiment of guards from aſſembling for exerciſe, and even for parade.

Not yet ſatisfied with theſe precautions, the diet excluded from the ſenate all the members in oppoſition to the dominant faction. This vindictive proceeding ſerved only to fan the zeal of the old partizans of the king, and to gain him new ones; for ſeveral of the nobles who were not partial to the royal authority, however, dreaded it leſs than they deteſted the tyranny of their rivals. Count Axel Ferſen was of that number. Famous for his eloquence, and for his attachment to the old form of government, he loudly diſapproved of the innovations of the diet; but, thinking himſelf ſomewhat neglected by Guſtavus, he retired from Stockholm. The ſenator Hermanſon was endowed with leſs ſenſibility, or was treated more kindly. His talents and his influence were neceſſary

neceſſary to the views of the monarch. He dedicated them to his ſervice*.

Guſtavus, however, communicated to the perſons who were to execute the plan of his operations, only what was neceſſary for them to know, in order to ſecond him properly. His firſt ſtep was to make ſure of the fidelity of the generals of the army. But the majority of them appeared to him too ſtrongly attached to the old conſtitution, to admit of his opening himſelf to them on the change which he had in contemplation. Colonel Sprengporten and captain Hellechius were the only perſons on whom he thought he might depend. He then reſolved to give the alarm of a ſham rebellion in two of the diſtant provinces, in order that the diet ſhould not pay attention to what was going forward in the capital.

Hellechius, on whom the king afterwards conferred the rank of general, and the name of Guſtafſchœld †, was at that time commander at Chriſtianſtadt, a city of Scania. He lived amicably with the officers of the garriſon, fre-

* The ſenator Hermanſon framed a conſtitution upon a new model; count Scheffer prepared another; the king himſelf drew up a third.

† This name ſignifies, in ſwediſh, *the ſhield of Guſtavus*.

quently

quently gave them entertainments, and found no difficulty in making them promiſe to act in concert with him. He openly blamed the decrees of the diet, and declared himſelf in favour of the royal authority. The inhabitants of Chriſtianſtadt adopted the ſame ſentiments, and expreſſed themſelves in the ſame language with them. The report of theſe proceedings ſoon reached Stockholm. The diet took the alarm, and commiſſioned baron Rudbek, governor of the capital, to go and put a ſtop to the murmurs of the Scanians.

In the abſence of baron Rudbek, the command of Stockholm was committed to general Peſchlin *. This officer acquitted himſelf of his charge with ſo great vigilance as diſconcerted, for ſome time, the friends of Guſtavus. Every attempt was made to corrupt him; but in vain: his reſolution was already taken.

* General Peſchlin has been ſurnamed the Wilkes of Sweden. But he reſembled Wilkes more in his venality than in his talents. M. de Vergennes ſaid of that general, that he had no other defect than that of preferring imperials to louis-d'ors. It was obſerved by a well-known ſcholar and wit, on ſeeing the epitaph deſigned by Wilkes for himſelf, "A friend to liberty," that he was happy to ſee him ſo grateful, for liberty had certainly been a great friend to him.

Fortu-

Fortunately for the king, baron Rudbek came and reſumed his command. He reported to his friends, that the gates of Chriſtianſtadt were refuſed to be opened to him; and that captain Hellechius had juſt publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the power which the diet had arbitrarily aſſumed. The dominant faction then reſolved to diſcover whether Hellechius acted by the king's orders, certainly hoping in that caſe to ſeize upon the perſon of the monarch.

Guſtavus was too great a maſter of diſſimulation to allow his ſentiments to be eaſily gueſſed. He anſwered one while with great firmneſs of mind, and at another with an air of indifference that deceived all the emiſſaries of the diet; and baron Rudbek, who thought he had thoroughly ſounded him, ſaid in public: "That the perſonage was by no means dan-"gerous." Nevertheleſs, the diet iſſued orders that the garriſon of Stockholm ſhould be augmented with the regiments of Uplande and of Sudermania.

It is certain that if theſe regiments had had time to enter into Stockholm, the revolution would not have been brought about; and much ſlaughter had been prevented. The guards were already diſcontented that other troops had been

been called in, and that the inhabitants, who had all taken up arms, and were devoted to the king, ſhould be united to the guards.

Every moment now became of conſequence. Colonel Sprengporten, who had been commiſſioned to conduct the troops from Finland, and whoſe arrival was to be conſidered as a ſignal to the king, had been detained by contrary winds. He did not arrive, and the time was loſt in an expectation continually becoming more dangerous. Generals Salza, Scheffer, and Vergennes held a council, and determined Guſtavus to accelerate his enterpriſe.

The execution of it was fixed for the following day. The very evening of that on which this reſolution was taken, the king appeared at the opera *, amidſt a great ſhow of nobility. He gave a grand ſupper to the court; and converſed with unuſual gaiety. He afterwards retired to his apartment, where he paſſed a conſiderable part of the night in writing to his brothers and his friends.

After having finiſhed theſe letters, he went to viſit ſeveral of the corps-de-garde †, as he had

* The repreſentation was Thetis and Peleus; the firſt opera that was played in the ſwediſh language.

† When he had entered the guard-houſe of the admiralty, an officer ſhut the door with ſo much violence as to put

had done for ſeveral nights before, in order to accuſtom the ſoldiers not to be ſurpriſed at ſeeing him at ſuch unſeaſonable hours. Being returned to the palace, he went calmly to bed, and roſe at his ordinary time. Count Levenhaupt, his premier ecuyer, being come to receive his orders, he told him, in confidence, to keep ready for him a greater number of horſes than uſual.

The ſenate met, according to cuſtom, at ten o'clock in the morning. Half an hour after this, the ſoldiers who came to relieve the guard, advanced into the court-yard of the caſtle; where they were no ſooner entered, than the king came down, ordered the gates to be ſhut, and addreſſed his guards in a very eloquent ſpeech *, in which he exhorted them to deliver their country from the tyranny of a few factious

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put the lock out of order, ſo that the door could not be opened again. The king was uneaſy; but captain Hanſon, who commanded the poſt, gave the door ſuch a blow as broke it to pieces.

* One thing that gained Guſtavus III. the love of the ſoldiers and the peaſantry was, that, ſince Charles XII. he was the only king of Sweden who uſually ſpoke the language of the country. He expreſſed himſelf moreover with great elegance in that language; and compoſed ſeveral plays in it, much eſteemed by the nation.

nobles.

nobles. He proteſted that he was not ambitious of abſolute power, but required only a ſufficient authority for the maintenance of order and for enforcing the laws. This aſſurance, accompanied with the promiſe of ſuitably rewarding ſuch as ſhould ſecond his undertaking, had all the effect he deſired. The guards replied by ſhouts of approbation. Guſtavus immediately cauſed an oath to be adminiſtered to them; and the officers were obliged to follow the example of the ſoldiers.

Reckoning on the fidelity of his troops, Guſtavus cauſed centinels to be placed about the hall of the ſenate, with orders to let no perſon go out. He himſelf proceeded to the grand corps-de-garde; and, having called the officers together, he related to them, in preſence of the ſoldiers, what had juſt paſſed at the caſtle; and added, that he had no doubt of finding in them the ſame zeal as had been ſhewn by their brave comrades. All, with the exception of only one *, ſwore to maintain his cauſe.

Guſtavus ſet out immediately to get poſſeſſion of the arſenal. He called for his horſes. Levenhaupt, who had them all in readineſs, was

* It was baron von Cederſtröhm. He made no anſwer; but preſented his ſword to the king: upon which he was committed to priſon.

proceeding to order them out, when baron Rudbeck appeared at the door of the ſtables, and commanded the groom to deſiſt.—"I re-"ceive no orders from you," replied Leven-haupt; "get out of the way, or I ſhall make "the horſes run over you."—The governor went directly to the ſecret committee of the diet, with a complaint againſt Levenhaupt; and ordered the ſecretary Ellers to minute down in his regiſter, what he ſhould dictate to him. Ellers, who began now to ſuſpect what was about to happen, looked gravely at the gover-nor, and, inſtead of doing as he was bid, ſhut the regiſter, ſaying that he believed he had nothing more to write.

Guſtavus next proceeded to the guard-houſe of the artillery, where the oath was eagerly taken. He ſent to invite the principal members of the diet to come to him; and at the ſame time ſent detachments of ſoldiers, with cannon, to every gate of the city, in order that none of the chiefs from whoſe oppoſition he had any thing to apprehend might eſcape. Notwith-ſtanding theſe precautions, however, general Peſchlin found means to get away *.

The

* A young man, named Hierta, ran after him for the purpoſe of ſtopping him. But the general took him by the

The remainder of the garriſon of Stockholm ſoon joined the troops which Guſtavus had collected about him. Several members of the diet alſo came to the ſupport of the king. Baron Rudbeck, and ſome others of the moſt violent, were arreſted. The duke of Heſſenſtein, who had been promiſed by his party to be declared regent, refuſed to take the oath. But, as he was by no means dangerous, he was ſuffered to be at large on his parole.

Thoſe who eſpouſed the party of Guſtavus, tied a white handkerchief round their left arm. Preſently all the inhabitants of Stockholm adopted this ſign of adherence to the king; and the officers of the ſwediſh army wear it to this day. The aſſaſſin * alſo wore it, who ſince gave him his death's wound, by a piſtol-ſhot from behind.

The people ran in crowds to the king wherever he paſſed. His majeſty frequently ſtopped

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the arm, and ſaid to him with a ſneer:—"My poor "Hierta, it muſt be a different Hierta from thee to oblige "me to give up my arms!"—For underſtanding this play upon the word, it ſhould be known, that in the ſwediſh language *hierta* ſignifies *heart*.

* Ankarſtrœm.

to harangue them *; always recommending order and moderation. His exhortations were not without effect.

As ſoon as Guſtavus had made himſelf maſter of all the poſts of the city, and was ſure of the adherence of the inhabitants and the ſoldiers, he aſſembled in his palace the members of the diet; and, after having reproached them with their diſſentions and their ambitious vanity, he concluded by ſaying:—"It is high time to reſcue "the ſwediſh people from ſervitude, and the "throne from oppreſſion. It is time to put a "ſtop to the corruption which diſhonours the "majority of thoſe who ſit in the diet and the "ſenate. It is notorious that they are always "ready to ſacrifice the intereſts of their country "to the gold of foreigners. If any one of you "can deny what I advance," added he, as he roſe up, "let him boldly ſtand forth, and contradict me." No one thought fit to reply.

Guſtavus then read the plan of the conſtitution which he himſelf had drawn up. He was heard with the profoundeſt ſilence: and, when he had made an end of reading, he aſked the opinion of the ſtates, inviting them to

* Never was a king ſo fond of making ſpeeches as Guſtavus III; and it muſt be confeſſed that it was an art in which he particularly excelled.

deliver

deliver their obſervations freely, in order to enable him to correct whatever might be defective in his plan. But not one thought fit to produce his objections. Such as in their hearts were moſt diſinclined to the monarch, were the moſt unwilling to diſcloſe their ſentiments.

The new conſtitution was not adopted till the ſecond day after the revolution. Then it was that Guſtavus diſmiſſed the ſenators, who, for three days, had not been permitted to leave the hall, where they had been detained as priſoners. The greater part of them obtained places in the new ſenate.

All the officers who had joined the king's party, were advanced one rank; and decorated with the military order. The principal inhabitants of Stockholm received medals of gold or ſilver, and the privilege of wearing them faſtened to the button-hole by a white ribbon. The ſubaltern officers alſo received medals, ſuſpended to a blue ribbon. The ſoldiers were not forgotten: Guſtavus, who was very ſcantily provided with money *, gave them all that he had to diſpoſe of.

* The bankers of Stockholm refuſed to advance any money to the king. One alone, named Peil, lent him all the money he had. Guſtavus never forgot the obligation.

When the members of the faction in oppoſition to the king had recovered from their firſt conſternation, they ſaw, with no leſs confuſion than ſurpriſe, that in defeating them, the monarch had employed but very feeble means. It muſt indeed have appeared very ſtrange to them, that at the very moment when the diet was maſter of all the forces of the kingdom, and filled with enlightened men, it ſhould ſuffer its power to be raviſhed from it, by a young prince who had not above three or four hundred ſoldiers; and who was thought to be of a very frivolous character.

One of the men whom the revolution afflicted moſt was count Oſtermann, miniſter of Ruſſia. It deprived him of a great part of his influence; and, in order to regain it, he was continually encouraging the diſaffected to rid themſelves of the king's authority, to draw out the regiments that had remained faithful to them, and to convoke a new diet in ſome one of the remote provinces.

The turbulent chiefs of the Caps were but too much inclined to adopt theſe dangerous meaſures. Guſtavus was apprehenſive of it; and therefore had recourſe to artifice for repreſſing his factious ſubjects. He cauſed a

report-

report to be circulated, that a very conſiderable body of troops, under the orders of general Sprengporten, was juſt arrived within a few miles of Stockholm; and for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, he ſent off boats loaded with proviſions for theſe fictitious troops. At length the winds permitted Sprengporten to leave the coaſts of Finland, and to bring to Guſtavus a detachment from the garriſon of Sweaborg: but at his arrival he found that all was already quiet at Stockholm.

The provinces ſoon followed the example of the capital. The regiment of Upland, called by the diet, was ready to enter into Stockholm. General Ramſay went alone to meet it; and notwithſtanding the reſolution of ſeveral of the officers, carried his point in obliging it to take the oath of fidelity to the king *. The duke of Sudermania, and the duke of Oſtrogothia, brothers of the monarch, had been diſpatched to different parts of the kingdom, and found no difficulty in confirming the troops in their adherence to the royal cauſe. General Peſchlin

* It was at firſt intended to arreſt general Ramſay. But an old and brave enſign, named Normelin, much beloved by the ſoldiers, determined them to take the oath; and the officers were drawn on by their example.

was the only perſon who ſtarted any ſcruples: he was arreſted by the major of his own regiment; and the duke of Oſtrogothia received orders to ſend him priſoner to the caſtle of Gripſholm *.

The money that Guſtavus received from France †, ſerved to ſtrengthen his party, and to diminiſh the influence of Ruſſia; who was not backward however in diſtributing rubles among her adherents. Catharine heard with indignation the news of the change that had been brought about, in a country which ſhe was continually dividing, in order to ſubjugate at one time or other. She gave orders to count Oſtermann to take meaſures for reſtoring the government which Guſtavus had overturned. The miniſter ſet his agents to work with an impetuous ardour; but his efforts were ineffectual. Some explanations which he had with

* He was confined in the ſame apartment that had been the priſon of the ferocious Erick XIV; and on the floor of it is ſtill to be ſeen, the track worn by the ſteps of that unfortunate king, by inceſſantly walking backwards and forwards from one corner of the room to the other.

† Hitherto the miniſters of France in Sweden had expended conſiderable ſums of money, in what were denominated ſecret ſervices. This money was afterwards given directly to the king.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus were terminated with harſhneſs; and at the commencement of 1776, Ruſſia having fitted out a fleet of gallies from Cronſtadt, an alarm was immediately raiſed at Stockholm.

Guſtavus ſent to demand what might be the cauſe of this armament. He was anſwered in a manner by no means ſatisfactory. The gallies did not proceed to act againſt Sweden; but the uneaſineſs of the king did not therefore ſubſide. At length, wiſhing to know what were the real intentions of the court of Ruſſia, he came to the reſolution of going himſelf to confer with the empreſs.

On the 16th of June 1777, he arrived at St. Peterſburg, under the name of the count of Gothland, and accompanied by count Ulrik Scheffer, count von Poſſe, Monck, with ſeveral others of his courtiers. Only baron von Nolken, his ambaſſador at the court of Ruſſia, had been appriſed of the voyage. Guſtavus alighted at this miniſter's hotel, and preſently after made a viſit to count Panin.

The empreſs was at Tzarſko-ſelo. Guſtavus went thither in the afternoon, and had an interview with her majeſty, in which they diſplayed to each other a cordiality equally feigned on both ſides.

Sumptuous

Sumptuous entertainments were laviſhed on the ſwediſh monarch. The empreſs was reſolved to give him a high idea of the magnificence and pleaſures of her court. She often diſcourſed with him, ſtudied his character with her uſual penetration; and, before many days had elapſed, plainly perceived that preſumption was his principal defect.

Having made this diſcovery, Catharine directly propoſed to reap advantage from it, by inducing Guſtavus to embark in ſome dangerous enterpriſe. His qualities, more ſhining than ſolid, his affability, the pleaſures he was ever providing for his court, gained him the love of his people; but one moment's imprudence might leſſen him in their eſteem, and even render him odious in their ſight. The empreſs endeavoured to haſten that moment in the following manner.

Converſing one day with Guſtavus, her majeſty ſpoke of the obſtacles frequently experienced by ſovereigns in their attempts to improve the civilization of their dominions, by introducing ſome alterations in the dreſs, the cuſtoms, and the manners of the nation. She obſerved that it was not only difficult to bring about theſe changes, but extremely hazardous to think of

ſucceeding

ſucceeding in too abrupt a manner. She ſaid, with reaſon, that mankind, being in general the ſlaves of habit, they beheld with averſion every new inſtitution; and, in favour of her opinion, ſhe omitted not to cite the example of Peter the great, and the reſiſtance oppoſed to that legiſlator when he only wanted to induce the Ruſſians to cut off their beards.

Guſtavus replied, that if ſovereigns failed of ſucceſs in the changes they were deſirous of making, it was doubtleſs rather their own fault than that of the people; and that, how much ſoever the latter were attached to their habits, they would willingly ſacrifice them to the monarch who had the art of making himſelf beloved. He remarked that mankind were leſs attached to their habits than to their fortunes, and their life; and that they would nevertheleſs frequently expoſe both the one and the other from attachment to their ſovereign.—"But," added he, "in all things there is a proper ſeaſon "which muſt be ſkilfully ſeized. When we let "it ſlip, it is for want of attention; and then the "ſucceſs does not correſpond with our efforts. "There is alſo a certain manner of executing "a deſign; and it was becauſe Peter the great "had neither that manner nor the attention "neceſſary for ſeizing the tide of affairs, that "he

"he experienced the difficulties which the "empreſs has juſt been noticing."

Catharine produced additional reaſons in ſupport of what ſhe had before adduced. She prolonged the diſcuſſion till Guſtavus began to imagine his ſelf-love was concerned to prove his aſſertions by facts: whereupon ſhe defied him to prevail on the ſwediſh nation to adopt a new mode of dreſs.

The monarch accepted the challenge: and ſome time after his return to Sweden, he introduced the theatrical dreſs that is ſtill continued to be worn at the court of Stockholm. He did not indeed enforce the alteration by a law. He contented himſelf with directing a letter to the governors of the provinces, in which he recommended them to employ no other methods but thoſe of gentleneſs and perſuaſion. He ſpeciouſly pretended, that the fantaſtic habit of his own invention was ſimilar to that of the antient Swedes. At the ſame time he took care to propoſe it only to the courtiers, the public functionaries, the military, and the burghers: the inferior claſs of the people were not even invited to put it on *. It was, however, partly adopted by them.

* This habit is at preſent ſcarcely worn except at court. During the time the author was at Stockholm, he very rarely ſaw it in private companies.

The

The viſit that Guſtavus made to Peterſburg by no means augmented his eſteem for the empreſs, and confirmed her majeſty in the deſire of humbling this young and turbulent rival. However, as he had been received at Peterſburg with all the ſplendour and magnificence peculiar to that court; the preſents on his taking leave were in the ſame grand ſtyle with the entertainment; and the jewels of the eaſtern world loſt no part of their luſtre in the frozen regions of the north.

The autumn was attended with a moſt dreadful calamity to the city and neighbourhood of Peterſburg. It is a fault in the ſituation of that city, that it is liable to inundations; but that which now happened was by far more extenſive and deſtructive than any thing of the ſort which had ever been known before *.

It had ſeemed for ſome years paſt as if voyages to Peterſburg were the faſhion. Shortly after the departure of the king of Sweden, the waves of the gulph of Finland had the honour to waft to the mouth of the Neva the magnificent yacht of no leſs a perſonage than the ducheſs of Kingſton, famed for her beauty, her wit, her

* The precautions for the prevention of ſuch fatal effects from ſimilar accidents in future have been already mentioned, vol. ii. p. 400. in ſpeaking of the police regulations.

luxury,

luxury, and her licentious adventures. This lady thought herſelf not unworthy of living at the court of Catharine; and ſhe was received by that monarch with marks of the moſt gracious condeſcenſion, who aſſured her, at the ſame time, that her veſſel having ſuffered in the late violent tempeſt on her coaſts, the laws of hoſpitality required that it ſhould be completely refitted by her people, and at the imperial expence. Accordingly, all its ſtores and ſumptuous furniture were brought on ſhore, and lodged in the apartments of the admiralty, till the winter had ſet in; when, with the labour of ſome hundreds of people, and by means of levers and engines conſtructed for the purpoſe, the yacht was lifted on the ice, in which ſituation it was reſtored to its former condition. In the mean time, the ducheſs, inſtead of exhibiting that dignity of behaviour and elegance of manners which might have been expected from a perſon of ſuch exalted rank, ſeemed at times, by oſtentatious diſplays of her wealth, to rival the entertainments of the palace; and at others, behaved with ſuch ſervility and meanneſs, as to excite univerſal contempt: the empreſs withdrew her attentions; and, uneaſy in the neglect and obſcurity in which ſhe was ſunk, the diſappointed peereſs ſet out for Italy, where ſhe was

ſure of not wanting leſs haughty companions and idolatrous paraſites.

Since the election of khan Sahim-Gueray, the diſturbances of the Krimea had been continually increaſing. The Turks, incenſed at the flight of Doulet, abandoned his cauſe, and ſet up Selim-Gueray in his place. Thus there were at that time two new khans; one ſupported by the Turks, and the other by the Ruſſians. The latter, who had it in view to deliver the whole Krimea to the khan under their protection, in order the more eaſily to deſpoil him of it, furniſhed him with a guard compoſed of their own ſoldiers: the Tartars were jealous of this guard, fell upon it by ſurpriſe, and ſlaughtered the greater part with their ſabres.

1778. Little was wanting before to bring the contending empires to a complete rupture; this then afforded ample cauſe for an open declaration of war. The empreſs immediately diſpatched freſh troops into the Krimea. Prince Prozoroffsky, who was placed at their head, attacked the Tartars who oppoſed Sahim-Gueray, and gave them a total defeat. His competitor Selim was forced to flee, and take refuge in the mountains.

During this time Staſchieff, miniſter from Ruſſia to Conſtantinople, was ſolliciting the Porte

Porte to acknowledge Sahim-Gueray; but the Porte, adhering to its engagements, and particularly to its oriental pride, reſolved to aſſert the cauſe of Selim.

Marſhal Romantzoff then gave the divan to know, that the Krimea had put itſelf under the protection of Ruſſia, and that the empreſs would rather re-kindle the flames of war, than abandon Sahim-Gueray. This haughty meſſage was but ill-ſuited to gain the concurrence of the Turks; they ſeemed exaſperated at it, and reſolute to put the diſpute to the deciſion of the ſword. But they were reſtrained by a foreign influence. One ambaſſador of France * had induced them to enter into the preceding war: his † ſucceſſor prevented them from engaging in a new one. When the ruſſian miniſter was taking his leave of Conſtantinople, the greater part of the ulemas and the riglialis, of whom the divan was compoſed, were averſe to the meaſure.

The miniſters of the other powers were at the ſame time buſy in negotiating with the divan; and that council continued wavering between the divers impulſions it received. Perceiving the tardineſs and indeciſion of the Ottomans, the Ruſſians renewed their activity. By means

* M. de Vergennes. † M. de Saint-Prieſt.

of

of preſents and promiſes they gained new partiſans in the Krim, and concluded by making themſelves maſters of that country, while they talked of nothing but its independence. However, by preparing for war, they endeavoured to prevent it. Marſhal Romantzoff had an interview with the famous capudan paſha; but found it impracticable to come to any terms of accommodation. They parted diſſatisfied with each other.

The empreſs relied on an aſſiſtance which ſhe alone ſeemed able to procure. She had obtained from the ſovereign of Perſia, Kerim-khan, the promiſe of attacking the Turks in Aſia, while ſhe preſſed upon them in Europe; but the death of that prince, who was aſſaſſinated by one of his officers, ſaved the Ottomans from a double aggreſſion.

Catharine was more ſucceſsful in the meaſures ſhe took for ſecuring peace. The diviſions which haraſſed Germany on account of the ſucceſſion of Bavaria, and the war which had juſt broke out between England and France, left no leiſure to thoſe powers to take any great concern in the conteſts between the Turks and the Ruſſians. Even thoſe who had induced the former to take up arms, adviſed them to lay them down, deſirous that Ruſſia ſhould be at liberty to make common cauſe with them.

In the mean time the divan continued ſtill undetermined. The people of Conſtantinople called out for war; they even broke out in murmurs againſt the capudan paſha for returning to the ſea of Marmara without having fought the Ruſſians.

The ruſſian miniſter Staſchieff was attacked on the road not far from Conſtantinople by two galiongis or turkiſh ſailors, with the intent to kill him. The capudan paſha cauſed them to be ſeized and ſtrangled on the ſpot: but their horrid attempt was a ſufficient indication of the diſpoſitions of the multitude.

The Turks could not eaſily prevail on themſelves to pardon Ruſſia for her ſucceſſes and her invaſions, as inceſſantly recalling to their mind their multiplied defeats and the humiliating peace they had been forced to ſign. They could not behold with complacency the Ruſſians almoſt entirely maſters of the Euxine, diſplaying their flag even under the walls of Conſtantinople, and extending their flouriſhing commerce from ſea to ſea. The independence of the Krimea was a ſubject of grief: its ſubjugation to the Ruſſians exceeded their patience.

Some other differences had ariſen between the court of Peterſburg and the Ottoman Porte. By the laſt treaty of peace the Ruſſians had

obtained

obtained ſeveral privileges for the greek chriſtians diſperſed in great numbers throughout the extenſive countries of Moldavia and Vallachia. From that period ſeveral inhabitants of the oppoſite ſhore of the Danube, who profeſſed the greek religion, abandoned their country to go over into the provinces where toleration prevailed. All theſe chriſtians were far more attached to the power to which they were indebted for the new advantages they enjoyed, than to that by which they had ſo long been oppreſſed. Ruſſia was aiming at more: ſhe was ſecretly practiſing means for rendering them entirely independent on the Porte; and for carrying that point ſhe began by inſiſting that the princes or governors * of Moldavia and Vallachia ſhould not be liable to be depoſed on any pretence whatever.

This affranchiſement appeared no leſs unjuſt in the eyes of the Turks, than the ceſſion of the Krimea. However, the firſt meaſures taken by the ambaſſador of France had not been without effect. Thoſe which followed were attended by ſtill greater ſucceſs. He prevailed on the divan to releaſe ſeveral ruſſian veſſels, which, for more than a year, had been detained in the turkiſh

* They bear the title of deſpots.

harbours; and not long afterwards a new treaty was ſigned * by his mediation.

1779. In purſuance of this treaty, the Ruſſians deſiſted from ſome of their exaggerated claims in regard to the provinces of Moldavia and Vallachia, as well as of the Krimea, which they promiſed to evacuate. The Porte granted thoſe of its ſubjects who profeſſed the greek religion the privileges to which they laid claim. It acknowledged the independence of the Krimea, and the ſovereignty of khan Sahim-Gueray, and ſtill farther enlarged the privilege that had already been granted the Ruſſians to navigate the ottoman ſeas.

The zeal ſhewn by the french ambaſſador to accelerate the ſignature of this treaty was founded on the wiſhes of his court to deprive Great Britain of the ſupport it derived from Ruſſia. The attempt was crowned with ſucceſs. The cloſe alliance that had ſo long ſubſiſted between London and Peterſburg, if not broke off, was at leaſt greatly weakened; and the French were ſecure from ſeeing in arms againſt them a power which ſtood indebted to them for its peace.

Catharine was ſo ſatisfied with this peace, that ſhe ſent magnificent preſents both to her miniſter

* The 21ſt of March 1779.

at

at Conſtantinople and to the ambaſſador of France *: the former of whom alſo preſented to the grand ſignor and the favourite ſultana jewels to the amount of 300,000 rubles in value. The grand vizir and the principal members of the divan were likewiſe favoured with teſtimonies of her munificence and that of Potemkin †.

Great reaſon the empreſs undoubtedly had to congratulate herſelf on a treaty which left her at

* The ruſſian miniſter Staſchieff received a property in land, on which were 1000 peaſants. M. de Saint-Prieſt was decorated with the order of St. Andrew, with the ſtar of it compoſed of diamonds. The empreſs alſo ſent him her portrait ſet with brilliants, as well as ſome remarkably fine furs, and a ſuperb ſolitaire for madame de Saint-Prieſt: the whole together valued at 50,000 rubles. M. de Saint-Prieſt received, beſides, three bills of exchange of at leaſt 5000 rubles each, and has ſince had a penſion ſettled on him of 6000 rubles. Being at Stockholm at the commencement of 1792, he put an advertiſement in the gazette, ſignifying, that he had diamonds to diſpoſe of to the amount of 14,000 rix-dollars. Upon this there appeared bills ſtuck up in various parts of the city, announcing:—"Political "forfeits to be ſold, to the value of 14,000 rix-dollars. To "inquire of the count de Saint-Prieſt."

† Potemkin, who had lately been created prince of the holy roman empire, wrote a letter of thanks to M. de Saint-Prieſt, and another to the grand vizir, to whom he alſo ſent a watch ſet with diamonds.

liberty to indulge, without fighting, her ever-increaſing views of invaſion, and in her ſchemes of extending the commerce of her vaſt dominions! The inequality of climate, the defect of population, and the unproductiveneſs of a part of the ſoil, are no impediments to the immenſe reſources afforded by theſe countries to commerce. Situated in Europe and in Aſia, the Ruſſians may eaſily traffic with all the world. The Caſpian ſerves them as a communication with Perſia and India; the ſea of Azoff and the Euxine open to them a channel for the conveyance of the productions of the north into the Mediterranean, and for bringing to the north thoſe of the Levant; Kamtchatka on one ſide offers them a way to America, and on the other to China and Japan: in a word, the White Sea and the Baltic afford them a correſpondence with moſt of the nations of Europe, to which their commerce is become indiſpenſable.

Free to navigate ſo many ſeas, and dominatrix of ſome, Catharine could not endure that any other power ſhould pretend to a right of maſtery in them; and one of the cauſes that contributed to detach her from the Engliſh was, the jealouſy they raiſed in her breaſt, by attempting to force from every power

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an acknowledgment of the ſuperiority of their flag.

Nevertheleſs the commerce with the Engliſh was too advantageous to the empreſs, to admit of her conſenting to loſe it. While ſhe refuſed them aſſiſtance, ſhe was oppreſſing them with civilities. While ſhe calmly looked on as they were loſing a part of their colonies, ſhe invited them to come and fetch from her ports, the products they could no longer obtain from the continent of America; and was delighted to ſee their veſſels arrive at Archangel in greater numbers from year to year.

She welcomed, at the ſame time, the american ſhips; and, in oppoſition to the ſolicitations of the britiſh miniſter, ſhe granted them the free navigation of the Baltic.

A few years before *, ſhe had concluded with the court of Verſailles, a treaty in virtue whereof a french factory was to be eſtabliſhed at Archangel; but the French, whoſe commercial views were directed almoſt entirely towards the Antilles, derived no advantage from that permiſſion. In time they perhaps may learn, that the commerce of the north, leſs

* In 1766, the marquis de Beauſſet was at that time miniſter from France to St. Peterſburg.

deſtructive than that of the burning climes, makes them lucrative offers, if not ſo brilliant, at leaſt on terms more equal and more ſure.

We have paſſed over a great number of banquets and grand entertainments given by the empreſs in the courſe of the preſent and the foregoing years; as well as ſome other events of inferior moment to thoſe that have been deſcribed. We are ſtill in time to mention a few of them.

The anniverſary of the acceſſion of the empreſs to the throne, and the birth-day of the grand duke *, were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; and ſignaliſed by a numerous promotion of general officers.

Catharine alſo celebrated, with pomp, the ſeveral feſtivals of her orders of chivalry; and conſented to diſcharge the functions of ſovereign of the order of the Bath, by conferring the badges of that order on ſir James Harris †, to whom they had been ſent by the britiſh monarch.

After having ſtruck him on the ſhoulder with a ſword richly ſet with diamonds, and having ſaid, conformably with the ſtatutes of the order:—" Au nom de Dieu, ſoyez bon et loyal

* The 9th July. † Now lord Malmeſbury.

" cheva-

" chevalier,"—ſhe preſented him with the ſword, addreſſing him in theſe words:—" Pour " vous temoigner combien je ſuis contente de " vous, je vous fais préſent de l'épée avec " laquelle je vous ai imprimé le caractére de " chevalier *."

Some few days before †, the empreſs had given a grand entertainment in honour of the ſea-fight at Tſcheſmè, and the burning of the turkiſh fleet. On this occaſion a ſuperb maſquerade and ſupper were given in the ſummer-gardens ‡; at which the company remained till very late in the enſuing morning.

During

* " In the name of God, be a good and loyal knight." —" To teſtify how well I am ſatisfied with you, I make you " a preſent of the ſword with which I have ſtamped you " with the order of knighthood." Preciſely the ſame ceremony was obſerved at the knighting of Sir Charles Whitworth in 1795.

† On the feaſt of St. John.

‡ This ſingular denomination ſeems not, as ſome have ſuppoſed, to have been adopted from the cool and ſhady walks, or in contradiſtinction to the winter-garden at the palace; but probably it was formerly called the garden of the ſummer-palace, from whence by corruption it has got its preſent name. It properly belonged to the imperial ſummer-palace, which was a large wooden pile of building, and has been entirely taken down by the emperor Paul, having

During the reign of Catharine, the riches and ſplendor of the ruſſian court ſurpaſſed the powers

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ing long been unworthy of its appellation, but was at times frequented by Catharine for a few days, on removing earlier than uſual from her ſummer-retreat at Tzarſko-ſelo. The gardens, which are now entirely devoted to the uſe of the public, are not indeed very ſpacious; but notwithſtanding the uniformity of the dutch taſte in which they are laid out, they contain ſome intereſting parts. The beautiful walks, ſhaded by old venerable lime and linden-trees, afford an agreeable refuge from the oppreſſive heats of the long ſummer days, and ſuch a glorious view of the Neva as perhaps is not to be matched in the moſt ſplendid towns of Europe. The eye of the connoiſſeur is likewiſe not without its gratification. Some of the principal walks have ſtatues of marble and alabaſter at proper intervals along the ſides, brought from Italy in ſome of the former reigns. But the fineſt pieces of art are contained in a grotto, which now only ſpeaks its antient magnificence by its ruins. Facing this grotto are two ſtatues by Conradini: Religion and Faith, to which the judges of the art aſſign an honourable place among the curioſities of the reſidence. They are female figures in wet drapery, with their faces veiled; and the noble ideal form juſt appearing through the marble veſture, fills the beholder with the more charming amazement as his imagination completes the forms, which in the repreſentation are only as it were ſuggeſted by a ſtandard not attainable in reality. Theſe excellent pieces and other choice productions of the italian chiſel ſeem here, with the grotto, to be conſigned to oblivion and the admiration of ſpectators of taſte,

powers of deſcription: it united the profuſion of aſiatic pomp with the ingenious invention of european luxury. On court-days, and more particularly on feſtivals, a very great multitude of perſonages ſurrounded the empreſs, ſome going before, and ſome following her; whoſe rich and ſparkling clothes were covered with a prodigality of precious ſtones. This produced an effect, of which the brilliancy of other courts can only give a faint idea.

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taſte. Not ſo another ſtatue, which obtrudes itſelf upon the view in the principal walk: Luxury, repreſented by a female without any drapery, ſtanding in a bold attitude, and which, playing the wanton, with alluring ſmiles, may be farther deſcribed, as the porcupine has been by the poet:

Seſe jaculus, ſeſe arcus, ſeſeque pharetra.

Theſe gardens are always much frequented during the ſummer, by all whoſe buſineſs or inclination keeps them in town. But their moſt brilliant days are at Whitſuntide, when all people of faſhion and the public in general make it a ſort of duty to aſſemble in them. At this ſeaſon perſons of quality of both ſexes even forſake their country ſeats, to figure in the grand allée of the ſummer-gardens, where all are dreſſed as at the opera and chapeau bas. Thoſe who do not chooſe to appear in the height of the faſhion, confine themſelves to the ſide-walks. The granite columns and iron work erected by Catharine the ſecond at the entrance to theſe gardens, are a monument of her taſte, and at preſent has not its equal in the world.

The

The court-dreſs for the men, was a coat *à la françaiſe*; and for the ladies, a gown and whalebone boddice; the former with long ſleeves, and a ſhort train, of a different colour from the boddice. The ladies, in general, dreſſed according to the prevailing modes at Paris. Among the diſplays of luxury exhibited by the ruſſian nobility, nothing is more ſtriking to foreigners, than that vaſt quantity of diamonds and precious ſtones of which we have juſt ſpoken; and the rather as in the other countries of Europe diamonds and jewels are peculiarly appropriated to the ſtately appearance of ladies. Here men and women ſeemed to have challenged one another who ſhould be moſt loaded with diamonds. This expreſſion is not exaggerated; for numbers of the principal people of faſhion were almoſt covered with them: their buttons, their buckles, the ſcabbards of their ſwords, their epaulets, conſiſted of diamonds; and many perſons even wore a triple row of precious ſtones round the border of their hat. This paſſion for jewels had even deſcended to the rank of private individuals, who are fond of aping the great; and yet, after all, are but common people: in this claſs of people were families who poſſeſſed as many diamonds as the nobles. The wife of

a ruſſian

a ruſſian burgher would bring her unhappy huſband to ruin, only that ſhe might make her appearance with a head-dreſs or girdle of pearls or precious ſtones, to the value of ſome thouſand rubles.

On the grand ceremonial days, it was the cuſtom of the empreſs to dine in public. On theſe occaſions ſhe uſually wore a diamond-crown of immenſe value; the ribbons of St. Andrew and of St. George both over one ſhoulder, with the collars of St. Alexander Nefsky, St. Catharine, and St. Vladimir, and two ſtars, one above the other, on her breaſt; as grand-maſter of the two firſt-mentioned orders: with all which, it may well be imagined, the empreſs made a ſhining appearance. The courtiers followed the example of the ſovereign; and it may be ſafely affirmed, that no court in Europe, that of Spain not excepted, was equally brilliant.

From the mention of theſe decorations it is ſeen, that in Ruſſia there are five orders of chivalry: St. Andrew, St. Catharine, St. Alexander Nefsky, and St. Vladimir. To theſe muſt be added, the order of St. Anne of Holſtein; which, however, the empreſs never conferred, leaving that prerogative to the grand

duke as duke of Holſtein. The three firſt were inſtituted by Peter the great: the order of St. Andrew, in 1698, in order to animate the nobility, in his war againſt the Turks; chooſing that ſaint as patron of the order, from the ruſſian tradition, that St. Andrew introduced chriſtianity among them. The knights of this order, among whom were the kings of Sweden and Poland, wear the figure of the ſaint on an enamelled croſs, formed by the imperial eagle: at the corners of the croſs are the four letters, S. A. P. R. Sanctus Andreas Patronus Ruſſiæ; and in the middle an A. the initial of the empreſs Anne, who framed the ſtatutes and aſſigned the habit of the order. The feaſt is held on the 30th of November. In 1790 it had 63 knights.

The order of St. Catharine was inſtituted in 1714, in memory of the aſſiſtance received by Peter I. from his conſort, in the camp on the Pruth. Thoſe writers who pretend that this order is worn by both ſexes, are miſtaken: it is beſtowed only on ladies; and among them are ſeveral of diſtinguiſhed ſtation in Germany. They wear a narrow red ribband, edged with ſilver, to which the figure of the ſaint is ſuſpended, ſet with diamonds, and a ſilver ſtar

of

of eight points, on the left breaſt, with the inſcription, *Amore et fidelitate.* In 1790 their number was 25.

The order of St. Alexander Nefsky was inſtituted by Catharine I. in 1725. The badge is a golden eight-pointed ſtar, enamelled with red, with the figure of St. Alexander in armour, on horſeback. At the four corners of the croſs are as many gold ſpread-eagles, crowned. A broad, deep red, watered ribbon is worn over the left ſhoulder; the motto is in ruſſian characters, which ſignify, *For labour and patriotiſm.* The feaſt is held on the 30th of Auguſt. The monarch, as grand-maſter, and the knights, attend maſs at the Kaſan church, at 11 o'clock, from whence they go a pilgrimage, on foot, to the monaſtery of the ſaint, ſituate at the diſtance of three verſts; where, at the ſilver ſhrine of St. Alexander, they attend maſs again, and then return to the winter-palace, where they partake of a ſumptuous dinner, under a diſcharge of cannon. The whole foot-way, from the Kaſan church to the Nefsky monaſtery, is laid with boards, covered with red cloth. However, for ſeveral years, latterly, the empreſs has gone the evening before the feſtival, to the monaſtery, and made her devotions, as the knights do on the

the day of the order. In the year 1790 they amounted to 122.

Catharine II. founded the two orders of St. George and St. Vladimir. The former, in 1769, is a military order, and divided into four claſſes. Its badges are a black ribbon, with a George and dragon *. Its holiday is the 26th of November. In 1790, this order was worn, of the firſt claſs by 8, of the ſecond by 11, of the third by 46, and of the fourth by 496 knights.

The order of St. Vladimir; or, as it is in the patents, of the prince equal to an apoſtle Vladimir, was inſtituted by her late majeſty the 22d of September 1782, her 20th coronation-day. Its chapter is held in the church of St. Sophia. The badges, an eight-pointed ſtar, interchangeably of gold and ſilver, having a red area, bearing a croſs, with the ruſſian letters, C. P. K. B. *Svætago Ravnoapoſtelnago Knæſa Vladimira, i. e.* the holy apoſtle-like prince Vladimir. Round it the words: *Polſa, Tſcheſt i Slæva*, Utility, Honour, and Fame: with a ribbon of two black and one red ſtripes. The number of knights in 1790 was 716.

* See before, vol. ii. p. 319.

The

The holſtein order of St. Anne, founded by Charles Frederic duke of Holſtein, in 1735, in honour of his conſort the ruſſian princeſs Anna, has for its badge a red enamelled croſs, having on one ſide the figure of St. Anne, on the other the letters, A. I. P. F. *Amantibus Juſtitiam, Pietatem, Fidem*, ſuſpended to a broad red ribbon, edged with yellow, worn over the right ſhoulder, with an embroidered ſtar on the breaſt. In 1790 it was worn by 214 knights.

The number of knights therefore, of all the ſix ruſſian orders, at the beginning of 1790, was 1487.

Beſides theſe, there were ladies of the portrait, who wore the miniature of the empreſs, ſet with diamonds.

During the winter, the empreſs gave maſquerades at the palace, to which perſons of all ranks might come. Sometimes the number of tickets given out was 8000. On hearing this, it might be ſuppoſed that the crowd would be uncommonly great; but that was not the caſe: twenty magnificent halls, ſplendidly illuminated, afforded ſufficient room to all this multitude. In the middle of one of theſe ſpacious apartments was an incloſure, made by a low baluſtrade, more adorned than all the reſt: this

was appropriated to the nobility and the motley-coloured group of courtiers. One elegant room, called the Apollo, able to contain a conſiderably greater number of people than the great room at Ranelagh, and of an oval form, was appropriated to thoſe burghers who had not been preſented at court: in another, where tea and other refreſhments were ſerved, were card-tables, at which all perſons might ſit down without ceremony. Every one was at liberty to keep on his maſk or to lay it aſide. The nobility univerſally wore dominos.

The Ruſſians of the inferior claſſes at theſe balls wore the uſual dreſſes of their reſpective provinces; only ſomewhat more decorated than common. Theſe various habits, ſome of which were extremely ſingular, produced a greater diverſity of figures, than ever the richeſt imagination invented in the maſquerades of other countries. Yet here were never ſeen ſuch groups of maſqueraders as are met with in Italy, Spain, and Conſtantinople; where one company, for example, repreſents a village-wedding, or a paſſage from the national hiſtory, or a dramatical piece of ſatire aimed at ſome particular perſon of the court. Her majeſty appeared commonly at theſe balls, as on the other

other occaſions already mentioned, at about ſeven in the evening, and retired at about eleven.

But, to proceed with our hiſtory. Catharine, who now thought herſelf at the eve of a new war with the Turks, was deſirous of animating by her preſence the zeal of her mariners. Accordingly, embarking in a yacht at Peterhoff, ſhe went on board the ſquadron then cruiſing between Cronſtadt and Kraſna-gorca.

Admiral Barſch, who commanded this ſquadron, as well as his officers, received ſeveral marks of the monarch's approbation.

A great part of the city of Tver being conſumed by fire, the empreſs immediately granted to the inhabitants whoſe houſes were burnt, a relief of 100,000 rubles.

Peterſburg, at this time, experienced a diſaſter which the bounty of the ſovereign could not repair. One of the farmers of the brandy-duties *, who had made an immenſe fortune by his

* A german author gives the following information concerning the immenſe conſumption of ſpirituous liquors in the north. The diſtillery forms a conſiderable part of the internal commerce and of the revenues of Ruſſia.—Theſe ſpirituous liquors are diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts; that diſtilled from corn, that of Dantzick, and thoſe of France and Spain. The common people of Ruſſia uſe only the firſt

his contract, propoſed to give a feaſt to the inhabitants of the city, in teſtimony of his gratitude to thoſe who had contributed to enrich him. The victuals, the beer, the brandy, which he cauſed to be ſerved, coſt him 20,000 rubles. The populace flocked in crowds to the place adjoining to the ſummer-gardens, where he gave this enormous repaſt; and, in ſpite of the precautions that had been taken, diſturbances ſoon aroſe among ſuch a number of gueſts. The contentions firſt began about

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ſort. All the nobles have the right to diſtil it: but they may not ſell it. The empreſs reſerved that privilege to herſelf. The conſumption of this brandy amounts to 12 millions of vedroes *per annum*. The government ought to gain, upon the ſale of this quantity, 24 millions of rubles; whereas it really gains only five; that is to ſay: three ariſing from the governments of Peterſburg and Moſco, and two from Siberia and the other provinces; the ſurplus of the profit being detained by the fraudulent contractors.—Foreigners, and the nobility, conſume only the brandy of Dantzick, and thoſe of France and Spain, which are preferred. The purchaſe-money of the contract of this latter, which expired in 1774, amounted to 116,000 rubles. The profit on it to the farmers was 760,000 rubles. Their privilege allowed them to import it only in ankers: but, inſtead of brandy, they procured ſpirits of wine, which they mixed with water. They moreover engaged merchants to import brandy; and the importation-dues which they received have often ariſen to 200,000 rubles.

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the places and the better kinds of proviſion ſpread upon the board; from ſtruggles and noiſe they proceeded to blows. Several perſons were killed; others became ſo intoxicated, that they fell aſleep in the ſtreets, and periſhed by the ſeverity of the froſt. The number of perſons who loſt their lives amounted in all to at leaſt 500.

Catharine, amidſt the military and political cares that crowded on her mind, always found time for peaceful inſtitutions and pleaſures. That the empreſs was even an authoreſs is well known. She ſometimes took up the pen; but it was always to inſtruct and to improve. Her "Inſtruction for the code of laws," on which ſuch general praiſe has ſo juſtly been beſtowed, the generality of her ordinances, manifeſtos, &c. were all, during the whole of her long reign, compoſed and drawn up by herſelf. Amidſt the perplexities of a thouſand different affairs, ſhe threw her thoughts upon paper with great facility; for her mind was ever cheerful and even: witneſs her printed letters in ſeveral languages. One great aim of illumination ſhe promoted by her comedies, in which fanaticiſm, ſuperſtition, and enthuſiaſm, were properly attacked, both with ſerioufneſs and ridicule. Happy the country where reaſon has the voice of the monarch on her ſide! One word from

ſuch lips is of more conſequence than the moſt ſolid demonſtrations; which folly, after all, cannot comprehend, and to which vanity will never hearken.

But there were other amuſements to which Catharine remained ever attached. Though ſhe frequently changed her lover, her diſpoſition to love was always uniform. The ſervian Zoritch had fixed it for a twelvemonth, in which time he had received conſiderable preſents, and the rank of major-general. Potemkin was neither jealous of the fortune nor the favours enjoyed by Zoritch. On the contrary, he gave him his ſupport, fearing leſt his place might be filled by ſome more dangerous man. Catharine herſelf ſeemed daily more ſatisfied with her favourite. But all at once ſhe gave him orders to quit the court.

Zoritch immediately ran and complained to Potemkin; who had the aſſurance to aſk the empreſs for what reaſon ſhe had diſcarded her humble friend?—"I was fond of him yeſter-"day, and to-day I am not," replied the empreſs. "Perhaps, if he were ſomewhat more "informed, I might love him ſtill. But his "ignorance puts me to the bluſh. He can "ſpeak no other language than ruſs. Let him "travel into France and England to learn "foreign languages."

Potemkin

Potemkin reſpected the caprice of the ſovereign. Zoritch ſet out for France *.

The ſame day Potemkin, buſy in looking out for a ſucceſſor to Zoritch, and going to paſs the evening at the hermitage, perceived with aſtoniſhment behind the chair of Catharine a chamberlain of whom he had not the leaſt knowledge. It was Rimſky Korzakoff. From the humble rank of a ſerjeant of the guards, Korzakoff had been ſuddenly raiſed to that of aid-de-camp-general to the empreſs, and honoured with all thoſe marks of bounty which the generoſity of that princeſs uſually conferred on her favourites.

Korzakoff was endowed with a handſome figure, and was of a very elegant ſtature; but having neither talents nor attainments, he was no more capable than Zoritch of making attacks on the influence and authority of prince Potemkin. One ſingle fact will ſuffice to delineate his character. As ſoon as he had obtained the place of favourite, he thought that a man like him, among the other arrangements in his houſe, ought neceſſarily to provide himſelf with

* Zoritch ſpent ſome time at Paris, in the hotel of M. Simolin, the ruſſian ambaſſador. At preſent he lives at Schkloff, a ſmall town in the government of Mohileff in White Ruſſia, on the Dnieper; where he has a theatre, and lives at an enormous expence. With an annual income of 200,000 rubles, he is conſtantly plagued by the importunity of creditors.

a library. Accordingly, he ſent for the principal bookſeller of Peterſburg, and told him that he wanted books to put up in the grand houſe of Vaſſiltſchikoff, of which the empreſs had juſt made him a preſent. The bookſeller aſked him what books he would pleaſe to have. "You underſtand that better than I," returned the favourite; "that is your buſineſs. You "know the proper aſſortments; I have deſtined "a large room to receive them. Let there be "large books at the bottom, and ſmaller and "ſmaller up to the top: that is the way they "ſtand in the empreſs's library *."

* The writer of this note happened to call at Weitbrecht's ſhop, while his counters and floors were loaded with the books juſt come from the binder's for executing this curious order. "But how did you contrive to find a ſufficient quan-"tity of the large books for the bottom ranks, ſince folios "are now ſo much out of faſhion?"—"Oh, I went to my "warehouſe, and brought out a number of old german "commentators on the bible, and writers on juriſprudence, "where they had lain in quires ever ſince they were ſent "to my predeceſſor for a bad debt of a bankrupt bookſeller "at Leipſik. There they are. See how gay they look in "their new coats. I have only to take care to put up a "ſet of Voltaire, of Rouſſeau, of Buffon, and other "faſhionable french authors, in a conſpicuous part of the "library, to be at hand in caſe ſome inquiſitive viſitor "ſhould aſk for them; and as for the reſt, their elegant "outſides, as is common in the world, muſt be a paſſport "for any deficiency within."

CHAP. XI.

Military preparations on the part of Ruſſia.—War between Pruſſia and Auſtria.—Congreſs and peace of Teſchin.—Armed neutrality.—Journey of the empreſs to Mohileff.—Journey of Joſeph II. to St. Peterſburg.—Journey of the hereditary prince of Pruſſia to St. Peterſburg.—Diſmiſſion of Korzakoff.—Lanſkoï becomes favourite.—Travels of the grand-duke in France and Italy.—Of Bobrinſky.—Invaſion of the Krimea.—Death of count Panin and of prince Gregory Orloff.—1779, 1780—1784.

IT was not enough to have renewed the peace with the Ottomans. The empreſs was irritated againſt Auſtria, whoſe miniſter at Conſtantinople had made ſome futile efforts for engaging the Porte to declare war againſt Ruſſia. The moment of vengeance ſeemed now to be drawing nigh.

The death* of Maximilian Joſeph, elector of Bavaria, had furniſhed the court of Vienna with an opportunity for reviving its old pretenſions to that electorate. The elector-palatine, Charles

* The 30th of December 1777.

Theodore,

Theodore, who ſucceeded Maximilian Joſeph, and who wiſhed to avoid a war, acknowledged the rights, though more than doubtful *, of the houſe of Auſtria, conſented † to allow Joſeph II. and Maria Thereſa to take poſſeſſion of Bavaria, the one as emperor of Germany, and the other as queen of Hungary.

The duke of Deux-Ponts, who was the next of kin to the elector Charles Theodore, immediately entered his proteſt againſt a treaty injurious to the rights of his houſe. The elector of Saxony pretended likewiſe an intereſt ‡ in the ſucceſſion of Maximilian Joſeph; and laſtly, the duke of Mecklenburg laid claim to an expectative granted to his family upwards of three centuries ſince §, and always evaded.

* They pretended that Bavaria devolved to them as a lapſed fief, and as the ſucceſſion of Albert of Auſtria. But in purſuance of an imperial ſentence of the year 1429, Albert had ſolemnly renounced his claims; and what is far more in point is, that the preſent houſe of Auſtria is not deſcended from that Albert.

† By a convention ſigned at Vienna the 3d of January 1778.

‡ The elector of Saxony was ſon of the ſiſter of the elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Joſeph. He demanded 47 millions of florins for his claim to the allodial ſucceſſion of the emperor Lewis.

§ In the year 1502.

Theſe

Theſe three princes united in ſolliciting the king of Pruſſia to take up the defence of their rights, or rather he himſelf ſecretly induced them to put their cauſe into his hands. Irritated at the aggrandiſement of the houſe of Auſtria, and ingenious in ſeizing all occaſions of enſuring the elevation of his own, he reſolved to ſhew himſelf in the eyes of Europe as the aſſertor of the liberty and the conſtitution of the germanic body. That monarch, who had formerly laughed at his being put under the ban of the empire, as elector of Brandenburg, now pretended that it was unjuſt to diſpoſe of Bavaria without taking the advice of all the electors, and declared himſelf reſolved to maintain the germanic conſtitution.

At firſt a long paper war was carried on between Frederic and Joſeph II. which terminated in more ſerious battles. Four hundred thouſand men now drew their ſwords; and blood began to flow in the ſummer of the year 1778 *.

Catharine directly cauſed a reſcript to be delivered to Maria Thereſa and Joſeph II. demanding the relinquiſhment of the invaſion of Bavaria, and requiring an immediate pacifica-

* On the 14th of July, general Wurmſer attacked the advanced poſts of the Pruſſians at Naſchodt.

tion. Moreover declaring, "That ſhe was concerned in the tranquillity of Germany, both "as ſovereign of a country which had a natural relation with that part of Europe, and as "having amicable connections with the majority of its princes, eſpecially with that prince "who had felt himſelf obliged to take up arms "for putting a ſtop to the proceedings of the "court of Vienna.

"That, not to inſiſt on the political law of "Germany, ſhe would adopt no other rule "than that of natural equity, and the principles "on which all ſociety is founded. That in purſuance of theſe principles, ſhe found that the "whole empire was unjuſtly agitated, becauſe "the houſe of Auſtria had thought fit to revive "claims for ſeveral ages extinct, and omitted "in the treaty of peace of Weſtphalia, which "treaty is the baſis and bulwark of the germanic "conſtitution. That the infractions of the court "of Vienna expoſed the whole empire to imminent danger. That the fall of that empire "would neceſſarily occaſion a violent commotion in all the neighbouring ſtates of Germany, "a derangement of the order and equilibrium "of all Europe, and in the ſequel perhaps even "a great danger to Ruſſia. That it behoved "every wiſe and prudent ſovereign to foreſee

"and

" and to obviate theſe calamities, and that the " court of Ruſſia could adopt no other prin- " ciples than thoſe which the court of Vienna " had adopted on ſimilar occaſions.

" That, in conſequence thereof, the court of " Ruſſia invited the empreſs-queen and the " emperor to come to an amicable ſettlement, " agreeably to the laws and the conſtitution of " the empire, with the king of Pruſſia and the " other princes concerned in the ſucceſſion of " Bavaria; becauſe otherwiſe the empreſs of " Ruſſia would be obliged to pay a ſerious " regard to what ſhe owed to her empire, to " the intereſts of the princes who had requeſted " her friendſhip and aſſiſtance, eſpecially to her " obligations towards her allies, and, in a word, " that the ruſſian troops would join the pruſſian " army."

Catharine might eaſily have put this threat in execution. She had then in Poland three armies, one of which, conſiſting of 40,000 men, and commanded by prince Repnin, had already received orders to hold itſelf in readineſs for marching.

The court of Vienna foreſaw the deſigns of Catharine. Previous to the reception of her declaration, it had expedited a courier to invite her to act, in concert with the court of France,

as

as mediatrix of the differences that had ariſen between Auſtria and Pruſſia.

A congreſs immediately met at Teſchen. The general who had been deſtined to hurl the bolts of vengeance by Catharine and Frederic, prince Repnin, appeared there in quality of a miniſter of peace. Breteuil was preſent in the name of France *. The houſe of Auſtria obtained that part of Bavaria which is ſituated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Saltz; and peace was reſtored to Germany †.

1780. But while the north of Europe was reſuming its wonted tranquillity, the ſouth was ſtill experiencing the effects of the violent commotion, which had proceeded three years before from the northern regions of America. England, France, Spain, and Holland, were continually ſending forth their armaments, and tinged with blood the ſeas of the two hemiſpheres, in order to decide whether or not the inhabitants of Boſton and Philadelphia ſhould be free.

War, and eſpecially a maritime war in Europe, always quickens the ſprings of the commerce of the north. It is from the north that the major

* Counts Zinzendorff and Cobentzel attended there for the emperor and the empreſs-queen. Baron Hertzberg was ſent thither by the king of Pruſſia.

† The 13th of May.

part

part of the commodities neceſſary to the conſtruction and the fitting out of naval armaments, as well as ſupplies of corn, the conſumption whereof, on ſuch occaſions, becomes more conſiderable, are obtained. The Dutch, long ſince in poſſeſſion of the commerce of the Baltic, to avoid letting the veſſels they employed in it fall into the hands of the Engliſh, navigated them under the neutral flag of the Danes *. But that flag was but little reſpected by the privateers; and the ſhips that hoiſted it were frequently carried to London or Plymouth. Thoſe of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, met with the ſame fate. The merchants of thoſe towns, therefore, implored the protection of Catharine; and, in order the better to prevail with that monarch, they had the art, by diſtributing money among her miniſters, to draw upon them her favourable regards.

To this ſhe had been already diſpoſed by her own true intereſt. She never loſt ſight of the means of extending and improving the trade of Ruſſia; and, in order to increaſe its activity, ſhe had juſt aboliſhed the extraordinary duties

* One merchant alone of Copenhagen, named Konig, proved to be proprietor of no leſs than ſix or ſeven hundred veſſels.

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on corn, and permitted the exportation of it from Archangel to Riga. Beſides, her pride was hurt at ſeeing that the Engliſh paid no reſpect to the ſhips that were freighted in her ports, and that they even ſometimes preſumed to ſtop thoſe which ſailed under her flag.

Another motive completely determined her to protect the navigation of the north. Vergennes, whoſe intrigues at Conſtantinople had formerly irritated Catharine, had lately acquired conſiderable influence with her, by urging Saint-Prieſt to determine the Turks to ſubmit to the ſacrifices exacted by Ruſſia. Vergennes had by this means gained his point in depriving the Engliſh of the aſſiſtance of the ruſſian fleet. This was not enough. He formed a plan more vaſt, and more worthy of a real ſtateſman. In a word, he drew up the plan of the armed neutrality, to which almoſt all the potentates of Europe ſucceſſively acceded.

Well acquainted with the haughty ſpirit of the empreſs, Vergennes artfully contrived to intereſt her in the execution of his project. He wrought upon the miniſters of Denmark and Sweden to open it to her. They performed their taſk with ſo much addreſs, that ſhe made no heſitation to adopt it; and ſhe almoſt perſuaded

ſuaded herſelf to believe it a creature of her own invention; or at leaſt ſhe ſeemed willing to perſuade others to think ſo.

From that time forward ſhe reſolved to uſe force for protecting her ſhips; and ſhe propoſed to the court of Copenhagen and to that of Stockholm, to equip each of them a ſquadron, which ſhould combine with her's for the defence of their neutrality.

The wiſhes of Denmark had anticipated this invitation. The prudent miniſter * who guided the councils of that kingdom, ſenſibly felt the importance of an alliance, without which the Engliſh would have derided all the armaments of the north. He promiſed to ſubſcribe to the treaty propoſed by the empreſs.

Sweden was leſs prompt in acceding to it. She was withheld by France herſelf, who dexterouſly engaged her to ſtart ſome difficulties, in order to excite Ruſſia to remove them. Previous to the equipment of a combined fleet, Guſtavus required to be explicitly informed of the manner in which this combined armament was to protect the commerce of the reſpective ſtates. He wiſhed to know whether each of the neutral powers was to defend the veſſels of his allies, or

* Count Bernſtorff.

only thoſe of its own people. Laſtly, he aſked in what caſes the neutral powers were to make repriſals with thoſe who were at war, and whether the aggreſſions of any one of theſe powers were to be neceſſarily ſeconded by the others.

The empreſs replied, that a preliminary convention ſhould be made between all the neutral powers, in order to ſettle how beſt to ſecure a free navigation to the merchant-ſhips of thoſe powers, provided that thoſe ſhips were not loaded with prohibited goods. She added, that it would be neceſſary that each power ſhould protect the veſſels of the reſt; and that, as to repriſals or aggreſſions, they ſhould be ſeconded, whenever they were practiſed, according to the conditions eſtabliſhed by the confederate neutrality; but that, above all, this alliance ſhould be maritime, and confined ſolely to the protection of commerce.

Satisfied with theſe explanations, Guſtavus gave orders to his miniſter at Peterſburg, to ſign the treaty of the armed neutrality; which the court of Denmark had already done ſome days before *.

* The plenipotentiary of Sweden put his ſignature to it the 21ſt of July; the plenipotentiary of Denmark the 19th of that month.

Catharine

Catharine had not waited for the acceſſion of theſe two potentates for notifying her reſolution to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid. She delivered to them, by her ambaſſadors, a declaration, in which ſhe complained, that the law of nations had been violated towards her ſubjects; that their commerce had been confined, their navigation interrupted; and that, to prevent ſuch abuſes for the time to come, ſhe was preparing to aſſert by force the rights which undoubtedly belonged to neutral nations *. The cabinet

* The great principle of this act, and of that confederacy to which it gave birth, is, that free bottoms make free goods; and this is carried to the degree of ſuppoſing, that neutral ſtates are entitled to carry on their commerce with the belligerent parties in a ſtate of war, with the ſame degree of convenience, eaſe, and ſafety, which they might have practiſed in time of peace. Nor is this all: it is farther laid down, that the neutral bottom has a right to convey, and to render free, all things, from any one part of a belligerent ſtate, and even coaſtwiſe, to another, without let or impediment, ſaving only ſuch matters as might be deemed contraband in conſequence of the ſtipulations of former treaties. It needs ſcarcely to be noticed, that the courts of France and Spain expreſſed the utmoſt approbation of a ſyſtem ſo exactly calculated and immediately ſuited to their own views, and which they could at a future time find means eaſily to ſhake off. They accordingly were little leſs than loſt in aſtoniſhment at the conſideration of that wiſdom, juſtice, liberality of ſentiment, and benevo-

cabinet of St. James's replied, that, from the very commencement of the war, it had iſſued the

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lence, which had produced ideas ſo ſimilar to their own. As they did not fully comprehend the new ſyſtem, nor know to what extent it was to be carried, they waited with deference for thoſe farther regulations or explanations which Catharine might think proper to communicate; but were convinced, from the congeniality of ſentiments on both ſides, that nothing could happen, in the intermediate time, on theirs, which would afford any diſſatisfaction to her. The ſolitary court of London was obliged to ſuppreſs her indignation at an injury which ſhe could not at preſent reſent nor remedy. She therefore only expoſtulated with the court of Peterſburg on the conſtant attention and regard which ſhe had hitherto, on every occaſion, ſhewn to her flag and commerce; ſhe declared a continuance of the ſame conduct and diſpoſition; and ſhe reminded Ruſſia of the reciprocal ties of friendſhip, and the common intereſts by which they were mutually bound. The principal claims of the confederate powers were thus ſpecified: 1. That all neutral veſſels may freely navigate from one port to another on the coaſts of the nations at war. 2. That the effects of the belligerent powers ſhall be ſafe in all neutral veſſels, with the exception of prohibited mercantile goods. 3. That the empreſs underſtands, by prohibited mercantile goods, ſuch as are ſpecified in the articles x. and xi. of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, extending her obligation in that reſpect to the other powers at war. 4. That by a port blocked up is to be underſtood only a port ſo ſtrictly watched by the ſhips of the powers which attack it, that to enter it would be dangerous. 5. That theſe principles ſhould be admitted

the moſt preciſe and unequivocal orders to all commanders of veſſels reſpecting the ruſſian flag. Notwithſtanding this aſſurance the Engliſh continued for ſome time to ſtop the ruſſian ſhips, and try the validity of their captures by the britiſh court of admiralty. The empreſs refuſed to acknowledge the competency of that court. The conteſt was beginning to take a ſerious turn. The Engliſh put an end to it, by releaſing the veſſels.

Pruſſia, Auſtria, even Portugal, concurred with the other neutral ſtates; and thus a power, which however great in other reſpects, was of inferior note in a maritime view, was now ſeen dictating a new code of maritime laws to mankind, in many reſpects eſſentially differing from thoſe which had for ſeveral hundred years been eſtabliſhed among commercial nations, and going

admitted as the ſole rule whereby to decide the legality of prizes. The empreſs added, that, in publiſhing theſe articles, ſhe declared that to enforce their execution, and to protect the honour of her flag, the ſecurity of her commerce, and the navigation of her ſubjects, ſhe was about to arm the greater part of her naval forces. That this meaſure ſhould not in any wiſe injure the neutrality, which ſhe was diſpoſed to obſerve as long as ſhe ſhould not be provoked and obliged to exceed the bounds of a juſt moderation, and the moſt perfect impartiality.

directly to the overthrow of that ſovereignty, or pre-eminence on the ocean, which had been ſo long claimed and maintained by Great Britain; but which that power, not being in a ſituation directly to contravene, ſeemed now to be ſettled as a part of the law of nations.

The miniſter * of England at Peterſburg warmly exerted every means he could employ to break the league of the neutral powers, or at leaſt to prevent Ruſſia from protecting the veſſels of the other nations. He left no reſource untried with prince Potemkin †, to induce him to determine the empreſs to alter her purpoſe. But the aſcendant of Potemkin had ſtill leſs authority over her than the calls of ambition. However, the diligence and ingenuity of ſir James Harris were baffled by a ſtratagem of a ſingular nature.

When that miniſter had diſcovered that attempts were making to induce the empreſs to propoſe the armed neutrality, he drew up a long

* Sir James Harris.

† Potemkin had four nieces, of the family name of Engelhard. The two elder, who had a great ſway over their uncle, and who were ſaid to be his miſtreſſes, are married, one to count Branitzky, grand general of the crown of Poland; the other to count Skavronſky. The engliſh miniſter at that time was laviſh of preſents to them of every kind.

memorial,

memorial, to counteract the project, which he gave to prince Potemkin, who promiſed to recommend it to the ſovereign. Whether the britiſh miniſter thought there was no need of making a myſtery of ſo ſlight a circumſtance, or whether Potemkin mentioned it, the partizans of the neutrality were ſoon informed of it. They immediately gained over to them a certain demoiſelle Guibald, a forward and ſhrewd young woman, who was about the nieces of prince Potemkin, and lived on a very familiar footing with him. This girl took the paper by playful ſtealth out of the prince's pocket, and carried it to her employers. They immediately enriched it with marginal notes, which victoriouſly anſwered all the objections of the britiſh miniſter; and the writing was then ſucceſsfully returned to the place whence it had been taken.

The empreſs, on having the memorial for her conſideration, very naturally ſuppoſed the notes had been added by prince Potemkin; which ſerved only to increaſe her deſire to unite the powers of the north in a league againſt England.

Sir James Harris was preſently after informed of the method that had been adopted for making his memorial ſpeak againſt himſelf; and it

chagrined him ſo much, that he fell ill upon it *.

Prince Potemkin all this while was at the ſummit of favour. Every day ſome new preſent from the ſovereign increaſed his immenſe riches; and ſome title of honour was added to the long liſt of his dignities. The court, the army, the navy, all were ſubmiſſive to him. He appointed the miniſters, the generals, the favourites, or removed them at his pleaſure; and his benevolence and his animadverſion were entirely directed by caprice.

With all the outward appearance of a rough and often brutal frankneſs, Potemkin was extremely artful. He domineered over the empreſs, magiſterially dictating to her his will; but at the ſame time appearing to exiſt only for her ſervice. He treated with inſolence the veteran commanders and the great perſonages of the empire, whom he thought he could affront with impunity, while he kept on good terms with all thoſe whom he knew to poſſeſs ſpirit or cunning.

* It brought on a jaundice, which laſted a long time. The tranſlator cannot ſuffer the above anecdote to paſs, without obſerving, that all perſons who knew Mademoiſelle Guibald, and are acquainted with St. Peterſburg, muſt be much ſurpriſed that not one little winged word of all this tranſaction ſhould eſcape, and fly about in ſome circles at the time.

Of all the generals marſhal Romantzoff was the only one who would not humble himſelf before Potemkin. Accordingly, the latter dreaded his inflexibility as much as he envied the glory of the conqueror of the Turks. The averſion he had for marſhal Romantzoff extended even to counteſs Bruce, his ſiſter, one of the moſt intimate confidants of Catharine. By living familiarly with counteſs Bruce, and profeſſing great friendſhip for her, Potemkin could keep a vigilant attention over her converſation, and all her proceedings, and promiſed himſelf to be able ſoon to deſtroy her influence at court whenever an opportunity ſhould occur. It was not long before chance threw one in his way.

Korzakoff was at that time beloved by the empreſs. The benefits, the honours, which ſhe heaped upon him, demanded his gratitude, if they could not inſpire him with love; but he was made up of nothing but thoughtleſſneſs and vanity *. Counteſs Bruce, who ſaw him every day with the empreſs, took a fancy to him. She could not, however, immediately give the reins to her inclination. The conſtraint in which the favourites of Catharine paſſed their

* Of all the favourites of Catharine, Korzakoff was the moſt oſtentatious in his dreſs; and it was to him ſhe gave the greateſt quantity of diamonds.

time

time ſcarcely allowed them opportunities for being untrue. Potemkin kindly aſſiſted the counteſs in removing all obſtacles. He took upon him the office of her confidant; he contrived the means of her having ſecret interviews with Korzakoff; and, though he was fond enough of this favourite, he reſolved to ſacrifice him, in hopes of involving in his fall the ſiſter of Romantzoff.

Potemkin's plan ſucceeded. The empreſs was not long in diſcovering that ſhe was deceived by her favourite and by her friend. She ſent orders to one of them to travel out of the empire; and to the other to haſten to Moſco. Catharine, from that moment, would no more have a friend; but as ſhe could not ſo conveniently diſpenſe with a favourite, ſhe fixed her choice that ſame day on Lanſkoï, one of the chevalier guards *, a youth of as fine and

* Lanſkoï was ſprung from a very antient family in Poland; their original name being Lonſky.—The chevalier-guards conſiſt of 60 men, all officers in the army, down to the captain's rank. They had in 1790 two corporals of lieutenant-colonel's rank, and three of major's, one ſerjeant-major of colonel's rank, one cornet of the rank of major-general, one lieutenant of the rank of lieutenant-general, and the general field-marſhal prince Potemkin their captain. The whole corps is compoſed of tall handſome men; and the ſtate-uniform probably exceeds in magnificence any military

and intereſting a figure as the imagination can paint. We ſhall ſee, in the courſe of this work, that, of all the lovers of Catharine, Lanſkoï was the man whom ſhe loved the moſt, and who beſt deſerved her love.

Potemkin's mind was not entirely employed in court-intrigues. That ambitious favourite, aſpiring at the flattering honour of cauſing Catharine to be crowned at Conſtantinople, and ſtill more deſirous of it than herſelf, reſolved to begin by taking poſſeſſion of the Krimea. But, in order to enſure ſucceſs, it was neceſſary to

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tary uniform of antient or modern times. The coat is blue faced with red, and almoſt covered with ſilver lace, embroidery, and hammered ſilver. On the back is embroidered a large ruſſian ſpread eagle; an eagle likewiſe adorns the ſilver plates of armour on the arms and knees, which are faſtened by ſilver cords; and theſe are attached to the body armour by ſilver chains. Bandelier, baudrick, and carbine, are furniſhed with ſilver ſcales, and the ſabre-ſheath of ſilver. The boots are drawn together with ſilver lacing, and the tops hung with chains of the ſame metal. The head is decorated by a helmet of ſilver with high plumes of various gaudy colours. The whole armour greatly reſembles what we ſtill ſee hung up of that kind in armouries, excepting that it is all of ſilver, and coſts each man at leaſt 1000 rubles. The chevaliers only keep guard in the palace at the doors of the ſovereign's apartments, and on court feſtivals alone appear in the above-deſcribed magnificence.

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act in concert with the emperor of Germany. He communicated his deſign to Catharine, who approved of it without heſitation. On his propoſing it afterwards in the council, count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin, who was a great ſtickler for the alliance with Pruſſia, obſerved, that it would expoſe the country to too much danger, by detaching it from that potentate: notwithſtanding his objections, the plan of Potemkin was followed. Panin was ſo grieved, that he fell ſick, and retired from buſineſs.

It was at this period that Bezborodko * was admitted into the council. Bezborodko had at firſt been ſecretary to marſhal Romantzoff, with Zavadoffsky. Like Zavadoffsky too, he afterwards became ſecretary of the empreſs's cabinet: but he was never, like him, raiſed to the poſt of favourite. He was appointed miniſter for the home department. Count Oſtermann, who, ſince his return from Sweden, filled the place of vice-chancellor †, executed all the buſineſs which had been long conducted by Panin.

Catharine was deſirous of having an interview with Joſeph II. the plans ſhe was now about

* The name Bezborodko, in ruſs, ſignifies *beardleſs*.

† There was no actual chancellor, becauſe the old count Vorontzoff ſtill retained that title.

to

to adopt, rendered a conference with him abſolutely neceſſary. She requeſted him therefore to come and join her in Poland, and ſhe preſently after ſet out for Mohilef.

Perhaps it may not be ſuperfluous to obſerve, that during theſe frequent journies, the empreſs never entruſted to the grand duke either the government of St. Peterſburg, or the adminiſtration of affairs. By birth generaliſſimo of the ruſſian armies, he never led a regiment to battle; and, though grand admiral of the Baltic, he was never once permitted to viſit the fleet at Cronſtadt.

Panin, to whom the empreſs generally granted the dangerous honour of repreſenting her perſon, had, for ſome time, been retired into the country. More oppreſſed by chagrin and diſguſt, than by diſeaſes of body, and more worn out by cares than by age; he was juſt vegetating on the brink of his grave. Field-marſhal Alexander Michailovitch Gallitzin was at this time appointed governor of the reſidence.

In the mean time the empreſs reached Mohileff*, whither the emperor Joſeph II. had arrived before her. A number of the grandees of Poland repaired alſo to that city. The pomp

* She arrived there the 30th of May.

by

by which Catharine was ſurrounded, and the luxury of the noble Poles *, formed a whimſical contraſt with the ſimplicity of the manners and dreſs of the emperor of Germany. That prince travelled under the title of the count von Falkenſtein; and intreated the empreſs to ſpare him the neceſſity of all vain etiquette and conſtraining ceremony: to which Catharine cheerfully conſented.

Here they had ſeveral private converſations, in which they agreed to attack the Ottomans in concert, to ſhare a part of the ſpoils between them; and to re-eſtabliſh the antient republics of Greece. In order to determine the emperor to enter into her views, Catharine conſented to patronize the barter of Bavaria for the auſtrian Netherlands, excepting the counties of Namur and Luxemburg; at the ſame time engaging herſelf to ſupport him againſt all oppoſition on the part of the king of Pruſſia and the other princes of the empire. Theſe ſtipulations on either ſide were ſhortly afterwards confirmed by a treaty,

* They addicted themſelves to gaming to an enormous exceſs. Some of thoſe, whom the ſharpers had not been able to ruin at play, were ſtripped of all they had left by robbers, on the ſeveral roads. It was ſaid, that count Potocky was pillaged of upwards of 400,000 florins.

ſigned

ſigned at Peterſburg. Catharine invited the emperor to viſit Ruſſia; and that monarch, always fond of travelling, and eager after information, took the route of Moſco, while the empreſs returned directly to her reſidence.

The averſion of Joſeph II. for the pomp and formalities of a court is generally known. On the journey from Vienna to Mohilef, a perſon was always one ſtation, and ſometimes two, before the imperial carriages, who announced to the poſt-maſter, that the grand retinue was coming on, that he muſt provide dinner, or ſupper, or lodging for ſo many perſons; at the ſame time ordering a fowl and a ſauſage, or a ſlice of ham, with a draught of common beer for himſelf. After having taken this refreſhment, if it was towards night, he aſked to repoſe a few hours on a ſettee. The landlord, thanking him for his civility in giving him timely notice of the approach of his diſtinguiſhed gueſts, would intreat him to take a bed; but this he conſtantly refuſed, ſaying, that the expedition he muſt make would not allow of this indulgence. The poſt-maſter, at length, commending him for his diligence, ſaw that the carriage was ready at the proper time; and away went the avant-courier. The reader is already aware of what was the fact, that this fore-

fore-runner was no other perſon than the emperor himſelf.

Previous to their ſeparation at Mohilef, Catharine had offered her imperial viſitor a ſuite of ſplendid apartments in the palace. But to this Joſeph objected; and added, that unleſs her majeſty would permit him to take up his quarters at an inn, however deſirous he was of prolonging his viſit, he muſt abſolutely undergo the mortification of denying himſelf that high honour. Accordingly, on her majeſty's return to Tzarſko-ſelo, the engliſh gardener received orders to convert his houſe into an inn, by hanging out a ſign; and to find accommodations for the emperor. A catharine-wheel was therefore painted on a board, and below it, in german characters, was written, "The Falkenſtein arms." Here the emperor, under the name of count Falkenſtein, put up, on arriving at Tzarſko-ſelo; and was perfectly ſatisfied with the entertainment he received from the honeſt inn-keeper and his worthy family. It may eaſily be imagined, that a number of little laughable adventures happened here during the emperor's ſtay, ariſing from the perfect incognito he always obſerved.

Notwithſtanding the continued repugnance ſhewn by the emperor to all the parade of

pomp

pomp and luxury, Catharine gave him entertainments of uncommon magnificence. But theſe entertainments had no attraction for Joſeph II. what employed him moſt, was the care of viſiting uſeful eſtabliſhments and curious monuments of art. He had ſeen at Moſco the Kremlin, the Khitaigorod*, the monaſteries, the library, and the archives of the hiſtory of the north; which were reduced to ſuch excellent order by the learned profeſſor Muller. He had ſtopped at Tula, to examine the hardware manufactory, on which Catharine had ſpared no expence for bringing it to its preſent perfection; and perhaps yields in no reſpect, for the beauty of its workmanſhip, to the manufactories of Sheffield and Birmingham.

In like manner he viſited alſo every thing that was curious at Peterſburg, and the port of Cronſtadt. He examined minutely the arſenals, the dockyards, the manufactories of various kinds; and every where received ſome flattering mark of the empreſs's attention. On his entering the academy of ſciences, he was preſented

* The Khitaigorod, or the chineſe town, is a quarter of Moſco, where a great trade is carried on in furs and all ſorts of merchandiſe. It has the appearance of a perpetual fair.

with a volume of geographical maps, among which was already engraved, that of his journey from Vienna to Peterſburg. At the academy of arts a collection of engravings was laid before him, in which was his own portrait, with an inſcription * ſuitable to his taſte for travelling, and the perſpicacity of his character.

At length Joſeph II. took leave of Ruſſia, equally aſtoniſhed at that mixture of refinement and barbariſm which the ruſſian nation had offered to his view; and the variety of diſpoſition in the character of the empreſs. He could not conceive how a woman who ſeemed by nature formed for leading the whole world in chains, could ſubmit to be governed by two favourites at her own court.

Not long after the departure of Joſeph II. the hereditary prince of Pruſſia † arrived at Peterſburg. His ſtay there produced nothing remarkable. Indeed numerous entertainments were given him: but magnificent entertain-

* It was this paſſage from Horace:

Multorum providus urbes,
Et mores hominum inſpexit.

† Who reigned afterwards under the name of Frederic-William II.

ments

ments were nothing unuſual at the court of Ruſſia.

Seeing that ſo many princes quitted their dominions for the ſake of viſiting foreign countries, the empreſs reſolved that the grand duke ſhould travel likewiſe. Accuſtomed to the reſpect and the moderation of the tzarevitch, ſhe was under no apprehenſion concerning his abſence; and ſhe hoped that while Europe was contemplating the heir of her throne, ſhe herſelf ſhould not entirely be forgotten. The grand duke and the grand ducheſs travelled through Poland and Auſtria to Italy; from whence they returned to St. Peterſburg by the way of France and Holland. During their journey, nothing that happened to them was unknown to the empreſs. A courier, regularly diſpatched every day, informed her where they were, and how they were employed *.

They doubtleſs were eagerly deſirous of knowing what was paſſing at Peterſburg; but Catharine was not ſo ready to indulge their curioſity. The chamberlain Bibikoff, who had preſumed to diſregard the will of the ſovereign, was very ſoon detected. His letters, addreſſed

* They were out on their travels 14 months.

to count Soltikoff, who accompanied the prince, were very exact. They were intercepted at Riga; and Bibikoff was immediately condemned to go and repent his raſhneſs in the wilds of Siberia.

1781. The armed neutrality in the mean time was diſplaying its flag in all the northern ſeas; the ruſſian ſquadrons viſited the coaſts of the Mediterranean; and commerce was efficaciouſly protected in every quarter. The Dutch, who had heſitated to enter into the naval confederacy, ſoon repented of their ſcruples. The cabinet of London declared war againſt them. Catharine however did not abandon them. Knowing what a great reſource they had been to her in the raiſing of loans, and what aſſiſtances ſhe might ſtill draw from them, ſhe offered her mediation both to them and to England. The Dutch accepted the proffered interference with joy; England could not decently refuſe it: but the politics of the cabinet of St. James's, long jealous of the commerce of Holland, found means, without offending the empreſs, to render unavailing her pacific intentions: peace with Holland was the laſt that was concluded.

Great fires broke out about this time at Moſco, which conſumed a conſiderable part of the

the Khitaigorod, and occaſioned a damage to the amount of 3,000,000 of rubles*. Nor was Peterſburg free from a viſitation of the ſame nature; the ſpacious hemp warehouſes on the Vaſſilli-oſtrof, about 200 ſhops and ſeveral veſſels in the harbours fell victims to the fury of the flames, within the interval of a few weeks or months. From this circumſtance it was at firſt ſurmiſed, that ſome evil-minded perſons might have purpoſely ſet fire to theſe buildings; but, after due inquiry, no reaſon appeared to ſubſtantiate the ſuſpicion. As the ſhops are all deſerted towards evening, it fortunately happened that no lives were loſt. Another misfortune was, the loſs of a ruſſian ſhip of war of the line which was daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks that lie juſt at the water's edge off the iſles d'Hiéres. Notwithſtanding all the pains that have been taken by Peter I. and his ſucceſſors for the forming of good ſailors, Ruſſia has as yet but very few officers who are capable of commanding a ſhip: and if it were not for the Dutch, the Danes, and above all the Engliſh, her

* Some time before, the opera-houſe at Moſco had been burnt down; and, it being thronged in all parts, as it was the time of the *maſlanitza*, or ruſſian carnival, the getting out was attended with great difficulty; ſeveral perſons were either ſuffocated or burnt.

fleets could never pretend to ſail out of the Baltic.

At the latter end of this year Catharine iſſued orders for building 12 ſhips of the line at Kerſon, and eight others, three-deckers, at St. Peterſburg. On the completion of theſe orders her marine amounted to 42 ſhips of the line for the Baltic, and 12 of the line for the Euxine, excluſive of frigates, gallies, bomb-veſſels, and other armed ſhips.

Nothing can give a higher idea of the talents, capacity, and reſolution of Peter I. than a compariſon between the condition in which he found the ruſſian marine and that wherein he left it. At the beginning of his reign he had not a ſingle ſhip on the Baltic. His firſt attempts in naval architecture were made in the ports of the Euxine; and by his uncommon perſeverance, were crowned with ſucceſs. But, no ſooner was he in poſſeſſion of Cronſtadt than he preſently produced as aſtoniſhing effects on the Baltic.

The conſtruction of a fleet in that quarter, now forms an æra in the ruſſian hiſtory, from which the nation, in common diſcourſe, uſually dates its tranſactions. But, with Peter's death, every thing took a different turn; his genius and activity did not deſcend to his ſucceſſors: the marine was neglected; and, at the acceſſion

of

of Catharine the ſecond, it was in ſo bad a condition, that ſhe had it almoſt entirely to create anew. Like Peter the great, ſhe invited ſeveral ſhip-builders from England, particularly admiral Knowles; who had acquired great reputation, both at home and abroad, for his knowledge in that art. She alſo procured a number of able ſeamen from Great Britain, for the purpoſe of inſtructing her new or unſkilful ſailors in the art of working a ſhip. Under her, all Europe ſaw, with amazement, the ruſſian eagle flying in the Archipelago, and the ottoman fleet at Tſcheſmè annihilated by a ſquadron from the north.

Ruſſia might be in poſſeſſion of a formidable navy ſooner than any other country, if it ſolely depended on having the materials; as every thing is found in the empire that is neceſſary to the conſtruction and equipment of ſhips. They are chiefly built at Cronſtadt and Archangel: at the former of which places oak timber is uſed, and at the latter fir; which is neither ſufficiently durable for long voyages, nor ſubſtantial enough for veſſels of war. The oak made uſe of at Cronſtadt, and which comes from the provinces of Kaſan and Aſtrakhan, is far from good, on account of its ſoft and porous quality; and, withal, is not prepared in ſuch

a manner as ſhip-timber generally is, in the other dock-yards of Europe, by letting it float for ſeveral years in the ſea, in order to harden it, and render it fitter for working. In Ruſſia it is no ſooner arrived at the yard, than the axe is employed upon it. Accordingly a ruſſian ſhip, after 15 years, is no longer ſerviceable; and, at the end of five, muſt undergo a thorough repair.

The Ukraine, and the government of Moſco, furniſh hemp. Timber for maſts abounds in the extenſive foreſts between Novgorod and the gulf of Finland; and in the countries bordering on Poland. Pitch and tar are obtained from Viburg. In ſeveral provinces are ſail-cloth manufactories and rope-walks. In a word, the magazines of St. Peterſburg and Archangel are amply ſupplied with theſe various articles.

The ruſſian marine, in the ports of the Baltic and at Archangel, conſiſted, towards the end of the year 1788, of 44 ſhips of the line, 18 frigates, 12 prames, and 122 gallies. This navy was commanded by a high-admiral, who was the grand duke; a commander in chief of the gallies, and an admiral in chief of the fleet; and laſtly, ſix vice and eight contre-admirals, who act as commodores. Of the vice-admirals the prince of Naſſau-Siegen, and of the contre-admirals

admirals M. Spiridoff were the only ones at that time in function. In Ruſſia are three claſſes of captains: thoſe of the firſt, have the rank of brigadier; thoſe of the ſecond, the rank of colonel; thoſe of the laſt, the rank of lieutenant-colonel. They all wear the military order of St. George; but are only knights of the fourth claſs. A ſea-officer, who takes ſervice in the army, advances two degrees, In the organizing of this corps, Peter ſhewed how greatly he was intereſted in it, preferring it to the land-troops: for even the ſailors enjoy this advantage; they are allowed more proviſions, and their pay is almoſt double that of the ſoldiers.

On urgent occaſions Ruſſia might conſiderably augment her marine; but it muſt be by taking on a multitude of unſkilful people: for, notwithſtanding the progreſs which that country has made in maritime affairs, though in a ſhort ſpace of time ſhe has got a greater force at ſea than the other northern powers, yet it may be affirmed, that her navy is not nearly ſo far advanced as thoſe of the reſt of Europe; with which however ſhe pretends to be upon an equal footing. Without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh and Dutch, to whom ſhe is chiefly indebted for being what ſhe is in regard to

ſhip-

ſhip-building, as well as the manœuvring and diſcipline of the fleet, ſhe would ſtill be much farther behind. But various obſtacles oppoſe the greater progreſs, which in herſelf ſhe might be able to make. Firſt, the want of harbours in the ocean; the ſmall extent of coaſt which Ruſſia poſſeſſes, and which moreover is frozen up for a great part of the year; and the ſmall number of ſkilful ſeamen with which ſhe can man her ſhips, if ſhe will have their crews compoſed ſolely of natives. In fact, the only port on the ocean poſſeſſed by Ruſſia, is Archangel; and that is only of uſe for the purpoſes of commerce. It lies ſo far from the european ſeas, that in order to get into them, there is no other paſſage than by the north-cape, ſituate in 72 degrees north latitude; a way which is only open during the middle of ſummer.

Secondly, it is manifeſt that a power which has only a ſmall extent of coaſt can hardly maintain a powerful force at ſea. Now Ruſſia has no more coaſt than that of the gulph of Finland, between Viburg and Riga: but this, for ſo extenſive an empire, is no more than a point, and is of a ſmaller value, as, being confined within land, without the advantage of tides, and inacceſſible for at leaſt five months in the year, in compariſon with the ocean is rather like a bay than

than a ſea. Into this ſtatement, however, we do not take the ruſſian poſſeſſions on the Euxine, nor the almoſt deſart coaſts of the White Sea and the Frozen Ocean, nor yet the uninhabitable regions of Kamtchatka.

Laſtly, Ruſſia is deſtitute of experienced ſailors, and muſt continue to be ſo from the nature of her government. The vaſſal, the only effective man in this empire to brave the hardſhips of the ſea, is fettered to the ſoil on which he was born, and the ſea is the proper element only for freemen. In the firſt war between the Ruſſians and the Turks, it was one fortunate circumſtance among many others, that they had ſo far to go to meet the enemy, as, on the long voyage from Cronſtadt to the Archipelago, the officers, as well as the ſailors, might gather experience. It is true, the government keeps 18,000 ſailors in pay; but by far the greateſt part of them have never ſeen ſervice. A ſmall number, in time of peace, are ſent to cruiſe about the Baltic; or, at moſt, proceed ſo far as till they come in ſight of the engliſh coaſt, while others are employed in ſummer to conduct a few ſhips from Cronſtadt to Peterſburg. But this is too ſhort an apprenticeſhip for forming a body of ſailors, which in war time cannot be ſupplied from the crews of merchant-ſhips, for

Ruſſia

Ruſſia has ſcarcely any, which principally ariſes from the ſevere prohibition, without a formal paſs from the admiralty, to go out of the empire. A merchant who fits out a veſſel muſt firſt obtain leave of the admiralty to take a certain number of Ruſſians on board, for whoſe return he muſt afterwards enter into an obligation, with the penalty of 140 rubles each man. So that, without a breach of the fundamental laws of the empire, a number of ſailors cannot be had, on the moſt preſſing occaſion, ſufficient to man a large fleet. In ſhort, a country that has no diſtant colonies, no conſiderable fiſheries, and not an extenſive coaſt, to make its inhabitants familiar with the dangers of the ſea, cannot acquire a navy whereby to become formidable to the maritime powers of Europe.

However, with all theſe defects, the ruſſian navy is ſufficiently able to cover its coaſts, to convoy its merchant-ſhips, and to obtain reſpect in the Baltic and the Archipelago; as that of the Turks is not better, but indeed far worſe than the ruſſian, and the former is daily declining, and the latter improving. It is a great advantage for Ruſſia, and was a ſtriking inſtance of the wiſe policy of Catharine, to keep up a good underſtanding with the great maritime powers, whom ſhe ſupplies with materials for ſhip-

building,

building, and who muſt therefore conciliate her friendſhip; and the rather, as ſhe cannot long hope to be their rival.

1782. The brothers Gregory and Alexius Orloff had long been retired from court. All at once they again made their appearance, and were almoſt utter ſtrangers to each other. Both of them were married *, and were juſt come from their travels in France, Italy, and England. Gregory, unable to bear the ſight of an all-powerful rival, abſented himſelf again without delay.

Bobrinſky too about this time returned to Peterſburg. This darling ſon, whom the empreſs had by Gregory Orloff †, ſeemed deſtined to arrive at the firſt dignities of the empire. But the bad habits he contracted on his travels rendered uſeleſs the tenderneſs of his mother, and the care ſhe had beſtowed on his education.

Catharine, on ſeeing Bobrinſky arrived at an age fit for making the tour of Europe, had

* Gregory Orloff had married the young counteſs Zinovieff, his niece, maid of honour to the empreſs. He had no children by his marriage. Alexius had only a daughter, who was afterwards married to the ſon of the miniſter Panin.

† Catharine had alſo by Gregory Orloff a daughter, who either died young, or is living in obſcurity.

wiſhed

wiſhed to give him in charge to ſome perſon whoſe ſagacity, learning, and prudence, rendered him worthy of ſo much confidence. In order to find ſuch a man, ſhe applied to count Betzkoï, marſhal of the court, director of the imperial corps of cadets, and a flatterer of uncommon aſſiduity. Betzkoï, who thought of little elſe than the advancement of his family, and who imagined that the natural ſon of Catharine would neceſſarily make the fortune of whoever ſhould ſerve him in the capacity of governor, aſſured the empreſs that lieutenant-colonel Ribas, his ſon-in-law, was the fitteſt perſon for filling that office. The empreſs believed him. Bobrinſky, at that time gentle, modeſt, docile, quitted Ruſſia under the tutelage of Ribas, and returned to it with that perverſity of manners and inſolence, which he could not fail to acquire from the leſſons and the example of his licentious tutor *.

Though

* Ribas, who is become vice-admiral of the galley-fleet ſtationed at Nicolaëf, on the Euxine, was born at Naples, of a ſpaniſh family. His father, who was called Boujon, was a farrier at Barcelona. When the ſpaniſh army marched into Italy for the eſtabliſhment of Don Carlos, Boujon performed ſome petty ſervices to general De Los Rios, which procured him his attachment. Being come to Naples, he ſent for Ribas, and Los Rios, who became miniſter

Though extremely afflicted at the deviations of Bobrinſky, the empreſs long bore with them, like an indulgent parent. But ſeeing that the preſence of this thoughtleſs youth would expoſe her too often to confuſion, ſhe determined to ſend him into a ſort of exile at Reval.

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miniſter at war, employed him in his office. Young Ribas was made ſub-lieutenant in the regiment of Sania. Some little affair about paſſports and patents obliged him to quit Naples. He made for Leghorn, where the ſquadron under the command of Alexèy Orloff, was then at anchor. The admiral, who had reaſon to know him to be a very ignorant, and not very ſcrupulous man, gave him a brevet of lieutenant of one of the ſhips, and employed him to commence the ſtratagem that was practiſed on the unhappy daughter of Elizabeth. He afterwards ſent him off to Peterſburg with tidings that the victim was fallen into his hands. Ribas, being arrived at Peterſburg, was regarded with favourable eyes by the daughter of count Betzkoï, and they were married. He was at the ſame time appointed lieutenant-colonel, and aſſiſtant to his father-in-law. After having attended Bobrinſky through France and Italy, he was promoted to the ranks of brigadier and colonel of the carabineers. At the ſiege of Otchakoff, prince Potemkin made him chef-d'eſcadre. Shortly after he commanded the galley-fleet on the Danube, and was raiſed to be vice-admiral. It may eaſily be conceived what ſort of a ſeaman he was.—We have been rather circumſtantial in this note, in order to ſhew by what means advancement might be ſometimes obtained at the court of Catharine.

On her journey to Mohilef, the empreſs had obſerved that the people of White Ruſſia, who for the moſt part profeſſed the romiſh religion, were ſtrongly attached, not only to that faith, but to the jeſuits. Conſidering afterwards that there was no great danger in permitting theſe monks to live in a corner of her vaſt dominions, whereas, on the other hand, it would be advantageous to her to flatter the opinion of the inhabitants of the new provinces, ſhe appointed Shezronchevitch, a native of Poland, to be catholic archbiſhop* of Mohilef, to whom ſhe gave as coadjutor a jeſuit named Beniſlaufsky.

At the ſame time ſhe granted leave for the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary of jeſuits, the direction of which was committed to father Gabriel Denkievitch, appointed vicar-general of his order.

Beniſlaufsky was ſhortly after diſpatched to Rome, in quality of miniſter from the court of Ruſſia. On requeſting of the pope the eſtabliſhment of the jeſuits, he delivered to him, on the part of the empreſs, a letter, which, from reſpect to the greek chriſtians, ſhe diſavowed in

* Formerly an excellent officer in the pruſſian ſervice: moreover, a very worthy archbiſhop.

the

the gazette of Peterſburg*, but which was not, therefore, the leſs written by her own hand. The following are a few fragments of it:

" I know that your holineſs is greatly embar-
" raſſed; but fear ill agrees with your character.
" Your dignity cannot coincide with politics,
" whenever politics are injurious to religion.
" The motives by which I have been led to
" grant my protection to the jeſuits are founded
" on reaſon and equity, as well as on the hope
" that they will prove uſeful to my people.
" That company of peaceable and harmleſs
" men ſhall live in my empire, becauſe, of all
" the catholic ſocieties, it is the beſt qualified
" to inſtruct my ſubjects, and to inſpire them
" with the ſentiments of humanity and the true
" principles of the religion of Chriſt.

" I am reſolved to ſupport theſe prieſts
" againſt any potentate whatever; and in ſo
" doing I only fulfil my duty, ſince I am their
" ſovereign, and regard them as faithful, uſeful,
" and innocent ſubjects. I am the more deſirous
" to ſee four of them inveſted with the power
" of adminiſtering confirmation at Moſco and
" at Peterſburg, as the two catholic churches

* See the Peterſburg gazette of the 20th of April.

" of thoſe cities are committed to their care.
" Who can tell whether Providence may not
" have decreed theſe pious men to be the inſtru-
" ments of that union, ſo long devoutly deſired,
" between the greek and roman churches?
" Your holineſs may baniſh every fear, as I will
" ſupport with all my power the rights which
" you have received from Jeſus Chriſt."

The ambaſſadors of France and Spain, amazed at ſeeing at Rome a miniſter accredited by the court of Ruſſia, took various meaſures for diſcovering what might be the object of theſe negotiations. The pope himſelf informed them of it, and aſked them what anſwer he ſhould make. Each of them conſulted his court, who would have nothing to do in the buſineſs; and the roman pontiff iſſued a brief, maintaining the ſociety of the jeſuits in the dominions of the empreſs of Ruſſia.

Perhaps Catharine might make the obtaining of this brief a matter of ſo much conſequence, only becauſe ſhe imagined that all the jeſuits of Europe and America would bring into White Ruſſia their treaſures and their induſtry. But, whatever were her expectations, the ſpoils of Paraguay never came to Mohilef. The diſciples of Loyola were too artful to go and ſurrender themſelves

themſelves and their riches into the hands of a monarch ſo ſuddenly become their patron, and who was not in ſubjection to the ſee of Rome*.

The empreſs at length completed the diviſion of her provinces †, and all of them enjoyed the benefit of the regulations which ſhe had begun to introduce in 1776, in the governments of Tver and Smolenſk. Every year of her reign was marked by freſh conqueſts and ſalutary inſtitutions.

It has been before obſerved, that Catharine diſtinguiſhed herſelf as an author. The nobleſt and truly affecting performances of her pen in this quality were undertaken from affection to

* In a converſation, however, with father O'Sullivan at the time, the writer of this note aſked him how they could live as a body after the order had been ſolemnly aboliſhed by the ſovereign pontiff? The worthy jeſuit heſitated to reply, and made ſeveral evaſions; but at length, upon the writer's ſaying that they muſt certainly be prepared with an anſwer to a queſtion which it was natural for them to expect, and that he ſhould be glad to know it as a matter of no farther conſequence than as it had ariſen in his mind, and he had not been able to form a ſatisfactory reply to it, the good father ſaid it lay in the maxim, *Lex non eſt lex niſi promulgata.* "Now," continued he, "the papal bull "has never been publiſhed in the empreſs of Ruſſia's "dominions."

† In the manner deſcribed in our preliminaries, vol. i. p. 2, 3, 4, et ſeq.

her grandchildren. Hence aroſe the "Miſcel-"laneous Pieces," or, "The Library of the "Grand-dukes." Pleaſantry and inſtruction, national hiſtory and deſcription of manners, livelineſs and gravity, the gay and the ſevere, are interchangeably blended together; and who is there but muſt admire the great woman, who, amidſt the affairs of ſuch an empire, reſting entirely on her own perſonal energy, was ſo conſtantly attentive to the education of her ſucceſſors? It has ſomewhere been thrown out with an air of importance, that the "Sketch of "Ruſſian Hiſtory" was taken from Stritter's manuſcripts. As if that was a matter of conſequence! as if it were ſeriouſly expected that the empreſs ſhould ſit down to the tedious inveſtigation of the tranſactions and authorities of the dark periods of ſclavonian hiſtory! as if any literary man, intending to deliver leſſons of hiſtory to his children, would not adhere to the method obſerved by ſome authentic writer! But, that a ruler over ten kingdoms ſhould apply herſelf, with ſo much zeal and aſſiduity, in forming the minds of her imperial progeny, that ſhe underſtood what was proper for them to learn, and took the pains to ſee that they were taught it well: this is worthy of particular notice by the pen of the hiſtorian; and the delightful "Tale of the tzarevitch

"Chlor"

"Chlor" will at once captivate the heart of every child, and pleaſe every thinking man. An empreſs wrote it, and drew none of the materials from any learned man's papers.

Catharine was eminently reſpectable in the circle of her family. With a ſevere, but always fond concern, with the only proper method of treating children, in contradiction to her maternal tenderneſs, when it was neceſſary to maintain the authority of the preceptor, ſhe proſecuted the culture of the affections and talents of her grandſons, and lived to ſee herſelf amply rewarded for the cares ſhe beſtowed. She converſed with the tutor in their preſence; and, when they were abſent, wrote marginal remarks on their leſſons, one while addreſſed to the ſcholars, and at others to the teacher. One inſtance of this kind may ſuffice. The ſubject of the morning had been, the nature of the government in Switzerland, on which the tutor had diſcourſed in conformity with his liberal turn of mind. On returning to their ſtudies the following day, they read at the bottom of the exerciſe, in the hand-writing of her majeſty, "*Monſieur l'Harpe, continuez vos leçons de cette* "*ſorte; vos ſentimens me plaiſent beaucoup.*"

This year was marked by the inauguration of the famous ſtatue of Peter I.—a work in

which the genius of Stephen Falconet ſo happily ſeconded the intention of Catharine.

The empreſs having reſolved to erect in the city of Peterſburg an equeſtrian ſtatue of Peter the great, ſhe wrote to Falconet at Paris, to come and execute that monument. He conceived the deſign of having for the pedeſtal of his ſtatue a huge and rugged rock, to indicate to poſterity, whence the heroic legiſlator had ſet out, and what obſtacles he ſurmounted.

An idea ſo novel and ſo ſublime met with general approbation: and now the buſineſs was to find a maſs of ſtone which in ſhape and bulk might correſpond with the grandeur of the deſign.

Chance, which is only favourable to great undertakings, and does nothing for mediocrity, ſtept in to aſſiſt the diſcovery. Near the village Lachta in Karelia, a rock was found, which Nature had placed in a vaſt moraſs, not far from a bay formed by the gulph of Finland. At firſt ſight of this maſs it was deemed proper for the execution of the views of the artiſt. On meaſuring it, it was found, that the height of it, taken from the horizontal line, was 21 feet by 42 in length and 34 in breadth.

The very idea of moving ſuch an enormous maſs was ſufficient of itſelf to deter any perſons from

from the attempt: but under the reign of Catharine II. difficulties were no hindrances to the execution of a plan. Accordingly, the bold project, worthy of the ancient Romans, was formed for tranſporting this rock to Peterſburg.

In order to this, a beginning was made by removing the ground to diſcover its foundations. It was natural to imagine, that what appeared above the moraſs was no more than the ſummit of a rock which ſunk deep in the boſom of the earth; but the workmen were juſtly ſurpriſed in finding that this ſolid maſs of ſtone was abſolutely detached, and lay upon the ground as if placed there by a miracle.

To this ſingular diſcovery another ſucceeded not leſs remarkable: which was, that in all this vaſt moraſs and its environs, not another ſtone was to be found, nor even gravel or ſand or any other kind of ſubſtance analogous to this ſtupendous rock, or adapted to form its conſtituent parts.

But what ſtruck the beholders with moſt aſtoniſhment was the interior of the ſtone. A ſtroke of thunder had damaged it on one ſide. On knocking off the ſhattered fragment, inſtead of homogeneous particles, a collection of all ſorts of precious ſtones appeared: cryſtals, agates,

granites, topazes, cornelians, amethyſts, preſented to the eyes of the curious a ſight not leſs unexpected than magnificent, and to the naturaliſts an object of intereſting inveſtigation *.

All theſe circumſtances, which Nature had combined in this rock, were powerful motives for ſparing neither pains, nor expence, nor labour, for drawing it from its place, and ſetting it as a monument, the only one of its kind in the world, and worthy of perpetuating the memory of the greateſt of monarchs.

The firſt diſcovery of this ſtone had been made in the month of November 1768. The labourers employed about it proceeded in their work ſo briſkly, that, in the month of March in the following year, they were able to raiſe it above the ground for placing it on grooves filled with cannon-balls, and dragging it forward by windlaſſes towards Peterſburg †.

One

* Thouſands of theſe, as well as other parts of the ſtone, were cut and poliſhed into bracelets, rings, necklaces, ſnuff-boxes, heads of canes, &c. and found a very rapid ſale, not only among people of faſhion, but throughout the empire.

† The mechaniſm for the conveyance of this rock was invented by count Carbury, who here went under the name of the chevalier Laſcari. A ſolid road was firſt made from the ſtone to the ſhore; then braſs ſlips were inſerted under the ſtone

One cannot ſufficiently admire the ardour and the celerity with which, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, and in the moſt inclement ſeaſon of the year, ſo much of this extraordinary enterpriſe was completed: but what remained to perform preſented a far more arduous operation.

This immenſe ſtone was ſituate at the diſtance of 11 verſts, or about 41,250 engliſh feet, from the ſpot where the monument was to be erected, to which it was to ſerve as the pedeſtal.

On its tranſport thither it muſt paſs over heights, croſs moraſſes and ſwampy ways, be conveyed over rivers, fall down the Neva, be diſembarked and drawn by land to the place of its deſtination.

Whoever would form a juſt idea of the greatneſs of this undertaking, and the labours it required, muſt conſider that the weight of this enormous maſs, geometrically calculated, amounted to three millions two hundred thouſand pounds. The largeſt obeliſk that is known,

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ſtone to go upon cannon-balls of five inches diameter in metal grooves, by windlaſſes worked by 400 men, every day 200 fathom towards the ſhore. The water tranſport was performed by what are called camels in the dock-yards of Peterſburg and Amſterdam, by which firſt-rates and other ſhips of war, &c. are lifted over ſhallows or bars of ſand, to their place of deſtination.

that

that which Conſtantius, ſon of Conſtantine the great, cauſed to be tranſported from Alexandria to Rome, weighs only 907,789 pounds, which does not come up to the third part of the weight of the rock of Peterſburg.

Such is the ſtone which ſupports the equeſtrian ſtatue of the legiſlator of Ruſſia. The hiſtory of the arts knows of nothing either ſo great or ſo marvellous.

The ſtatue itſelf is truly a maſter-piece. Falconet has ſucceeded in the reſemblance to admiration; the features of the tzar's countenance are wonderfully well expreſſed *. The artiſt repreſents the hero on horſeback as in the act of aſcending a ſteep rock, the ſummit of which he purpoſes to attain. Peter is crowned with laurels and in an aſiatic dreſs; he extends his right arm with great dignity, while with the left he holds the bridle of his horſe, whoſe beauty of form and elegant attitude captivate the admiration of all ſpectators. He ſtands only on his hinder-feet, and is in the attitude of a fiery courſer reſolved to attain the ſummit of the rock. To combine

* In the model of the head of the hero, the artiſt Falconet diſclaimed all merit. It was the production of a lady, mademoiſelle Collot, who afterwards was married to Peter Falconet, the ſon of the artiſt, and is a performance of uncommon excellence.

ſolidity

ſolidity with excellence was therefore difficult; but this the ingenious artiſt found a way to accompliſh. The brazen ſerpent which is trampled on by the horſe, is emblematical, doubtleſs, of oppoſition to the views of the monarch; but it artfully ſerves likewiſe to give an equipoiſe to the ſtatue; the point of bearing is by this means not perceived, which is the full and flowing tail of the horſe gently falling on the ſerpent writhing with pain *.

Too much of the ſtone was chipped off by M. Falconet, ſo that at laſt it was in want of an addition. It is grounded on piles cloſely driven; and has on the ſide towards the admiralty, in letters of caſt metal: PETRU PERVOMU EKATERINA VTORAIA. 1782. and on the ſide next

* The fount of the ſtatue was likewiſe done by M. Falconet, in a houſe built on purpoſe adjacent to the ſtone. The metal is a bronze of copper with ſome tin and zinc, and weighed 44,041 ruſs pounds; the iron inſerted in the hinder part of the horſe, to preſerve the balance, was 10,000 in weight. The head, the arms, the feet, and the drapery of the rider, are of the thickneſs of three, and the body of four lines; the head and the fore feet of the horſe are three lines thick, but the thickneſs increaſes hindwards to one inch. Few founts of ſuch a magnitude have ever been ſo thin. It is a coloſſal ſtatue, the figure of the monarch being 11 feet in height, and the height of the horſe 17 feet.

the

the ſenate the ſame in latin: PETRO PRIMO CATHARINA SECUNDA.

On the day * of the ceremonious diſcloſure of this noble monument to the public, the empreſs appeared in the balcony of the ſenate-houſe, and ſolemnized the event by the diſtribution of gold and ſilver medals, and by a gracious ukauſe, which put an end to every proceſs of more than ten years ſtanding, diſcharged all debtors who had been five years in confinement, and remitted all debts to the crown below the ſum of 500 rubles †.

* The 7th of Auguſt 1782.

† The expence of this monument was truly imperial. The tranſport of the rock, its pedeſtal, from Lachta, coſt 70,000 rubles. Falconet's ſalary for nine years came to 48,000 rubles, and he received 26,800 rubles as a compenſation for free quarters: he was paid apart for the foundery 17,500 rubles; his three aſſiſtants 27,284 rubles, the melter Kailoff 2500 rubles, &c: all together amounting, by the accounts of the office for public buildings, to 424,610 rubles.—Mademoiſelle Collot acquired ſuch great reputation by compoſing the head of the hero, that ſhe was employed to make a buſt of the empreſs in marble, and engaged by many of the nobility in works of like nature for them. The medallion of the late lady Cathcart, who died in 1772, at Peterſburg, for her monument in Scotland, is the work of her chiſel. This female artiſt, during her ſtay in Ruſſia, by her indefatigable induſtry, gained a competency of about 50,000 rubles.

1783. Not long after this, Catharine inſtituted the order of St. Vladimir as a reward to ſuch of her ſubjects as had faithfully ſerved the country in any civil employment; having already created the military order of St. George *, the grand cordon of which is only given to generals who have gained a battle. It muſt be owned that the hope of obtaining this recompence has probably procured many a victory to Ruſſia. None knew better than Catharine what influence the decorations of vanity have upon mankind.

Ruſſia now beheld the rapid increaſe of the advantages derived from her late conqueſts. Her commerce on the Euxine was making freſh progreſs from day to day. The ruſſian veſſels paſſed the Dardanelles, and proceeded to trade at Aleppo, at Smyrna, and in the ports of Italy. The racey and delicious wines of Greece were brought into White Ruſſia, and from thence were ſent over all Poland.

Catharine had recently cauſed the foundations to be laid of the city of Kerſon, on the ſhores of the Dniepr, at the diſtance of about ten leagues from Otchakoff; and prince Potemkin accelerated the works with incredible activity. He was frequently ſeen to ſet out from Peterſburg,

* For a brief account of theſe orders the reader is referred to p. 144 of this volume.

fly

fly as it were to the banks of the Dniepr *, and make his appearance again on thoſe of the Neva †, in leſs time than would be requiſite for an ordinary man to perform the journey to Moſco. Kerſon already counted 40,000 inhabitants within its walls; and from its yards were launched not only veſſels for the purpoſes of commerce, but ſhips of war deſtined to ſtrike terror into the ottoman empire.

This advantage rekindled the ambition of the empreſs and Potemkin. They longed with equal ardour for the conqueſt of a country without which they could not hope to realize their plans againſt the turkiſh empire, and the poſſeſſion whereof would probably be ſufficient to compenſate the failure of thoſe plans. Catharine began by detaching the Krimea from Turkey, and immediately reſolved to invade it. The fertility of that country is ſtill a matter in diſpute: but the reſources it affords to her

* Kerſon, founded in 1778, is ſituated on the ſhores of the Dniepr, a little above the mouth of the Bogh, and in the neighbourhood of the Liman, a ſwampy lake, the entrance to which is guarded by the fortreſs of Kinburn, and is about a mile over. The Liman has depth enough for the reception of large veſſels; but they very quickly decay in it, as the water is freſh.

† The diſtance from Peterſburg to Kerſon is 2000 verſts.

armies,

armies, and the advantages it holds out to commerce *, cannot be called in queſtion. The importance of the Krimea being ſo great in the opinion of Catharine, a ſhort deſcription of it will be here expected.

The Krimea is a narrow peninſula, of about 75 leagues in circuit, ſituated to the ſouth of Peterſburg, between the 51ſt and the 54th degrees of longitude, and in the 46th degree of latitude. Its ſhores on the ſouth and the weſt are laved by the Euxine; the ſea of Azoff and the Palus Mœotis incloſe it to the eaſt and the north. The iſthmus which joins it to the continent is not, in breadth, above a league and a half. From this iſthmus, on which is built the fortreſs of Perekop †, to the hill Karaſu-bazar, the country is only a vaſt plain, riſing inſenſibly to the top of the hill, which forms the ſouthern coaſts.

The plain which extends from Perekop to the river Sargir is in length about 25 leagues. It contains a great number of moraſſes and lakes,

* Of what benefit it was to the antient Greeks, and afterwards to the Genoeſe, who got poſſeſſion of it in 1471, and were driven out of it by khan Bangli-Gueray, is well known.—For a more particular account of the Krim, ſee that tranſmitted by the writer hereof to the Gent.'s Mag. Auguſt 1786, and thence copied into Ann. Reg. vol. xxviii. p. 129.

† The Tartars call it Or-kapi.

which

which furniſh ſalt to the provinces adjacent to Ruſſia, to the Krimea itſelf, to Natolia, and to Beſſarabia.

Almoſt the whole plain may be traverſed without meeting with a running-ſtream. The inhabitants of that part are obliged to conſtruct, contiguous to each houſe, reſervoirs for the preſervation of rain-water. The land is there deſtitute of trees of all kinds. Not a ſingle buſh, not even a briar, is to be ſeen. The plants cultivated there are in a wretched condition. This nakedneſs of the ground, however, is not to be attributed to the defect of fertility, but to the numerous herds and flocks continually roaming about this part of the Krimea, devouring or deſtroying the vegetables it produces, at the very inſtant they begin to puſh upward.

The inclination of the Tartars for the nomadic life, and their averſion to agriculture, is the reaſon that this country is left to deſolation. But if theſe people could be once brought to divide the land between them, there would be paſturage enough, and the remainder would abundantly produce the vegetables neceſſary to life. If one Tartar would addict himſelf to the culture of the earth, his labour would ſuffice to ſupply the wants of a hundred of his countrymen.

The Krimea may be divided into two parts; the flat country and the mountainous. The former, which extends from Perekop to Koſloff, and from the river Bulganak to Karaſu-bazar, to Keffa, and to Yeni-kaly, is ſprinkled with a number of ſmall villages, the inhabitants whereof live upon the profits ariſing from ſalt and the products of their cattle. The mountains lie to the ſouth, along the Euxine; and, in a right line extend to the weſt, from Keffa as far as the vicinity of Belbek.

The two moſt conſiderable rivers of the Krimea are, the Salgir and the Karaſu; which fall into the Palus Mæotis. The former takes its ſource not far from Achmetſched, and the ſecond ariſes near Karaſu-bazar; from which place, after having irrigated the adjacent plain, it flows into the Salgir. All the other rivers and ſtreams that fall from the chain of mountains, beginning at Keffa, take a north and north-eaſt courſe, excepting that which iſſues from mount Akta, beyond Achmetſched. The other rivers fall into the Euxine: theſe are the Amna, the Katſha, the Belbek, the Kaſoulki.

The mountains are covered with foreſts of timber trees, the haunts of ſavage beaſts. The land of the vallies is fertile; and for being prolific, waits only for the hand of the labourer.

Grain of all kinds and the vine flouriſh on their declivities. The mountains contain mines, which are ſuppoſed to be extremely rich; but the mountaineers deſpiſe theſe natural bounties: the produce of their flocks, and a little bread, ſuffice them for ſubſiſtence *.

The iſle of Taman, ſituate at the entrance of the ſtraight which connects the ſea of Azoff with the Euxine, is rich and very populous.

The Kuban, a vaſt and arid deſart, which extends from the frontiers of the Krimea as far as the foot of mount Caucaſus, has, like the Leſſer Tartary, but a ſcanty population.

Such are the countries of which the court of Peterſburg, ſince the peace of Kaïnardgi, has impatiently waited for the moment of getting poſſeſſion.

Catharine had no other view in raiſing Sahim-Gueray to the place of khan, than to make

* The myrzas, or nobles, and all the opulent Tartars in general, reſide continually in the country; never coming into towns but on matters of buſineſs. They have no courts of judicature in the country. Diſputes are extremely rare; and whenever they happen, they are decided on the ſpot by the authority of the koran. Petty differences, that ariſe in the villages, and cannot be adjudged by the koran, are amicably ſettled by the elders or abeſes. But in the towns, all affairs of importance, excepting caſes of murder, are brought before the kaïma-khan, or commandant, who pronounces without appeal.

him

him the inſtrument of her ambition; ſhe only loaded him with careſſes and benefits, in order to render him a more reſiſtleſs victim. That prince, of a mild but weak and open diſpoſition, was far from ſuſpecting the deſigns of the Ruſſians. He was fond of novelties, and delighted with the arts of Europe: the people of the court indulged his inclination; they procured him the enjoyments of voluptuouſneſs and the refinements of luxury. He preſently learnt to deſpiſe the manners of his country. He quitted his uſual manner of eating, engaged a ruſſian cook, and had his dinner ſerved up upon plate. Inſtead of going on horſeback, like the reſt of his countrymen, he travelled and paraded about the ſtreets in a magnificent berlin. Heedleſs of his independence, and to the degradation of his dignity, he ſollicited a title in the ruſſian army; and accepted a captain's commiſſion in the preobaginſky guards; of which ſhe ſent him the uniform, with the ribbon of St. Anne. Vaſſillieſky and Konſtantinoff, ruſſian agents, decorated with the title of miniſters plenipotentiary, were by turns the counſellors of this too confident prince; and thoſe who contributed moſt to his ruin. The Tartars loudly condemned his manner of life, and his attachment to Ruſſia; but, as he governed

them with gentleneſs and equity, they aſcribed his deviations rather to the chriſtians than to himſelf.

In the mean time the Ruſſians were in want of a pretext for marching their troops into the Krimea. They ſtrove hard to foment ſome revolt, that the khan might implore their ſuccour, and ſurrender himſelf entirely to them. Money, preſents, ſiniſter counſels ſecretly ſpread by their emiſſaries, preſently raiſed him enemies even in his own family. Two of his brothers, one of whom, named Batti-Gueray, was governor of the Kuban, made an attempt to ſurpriſe him in the city of Keffa *, where he reſided, and forced him to fly for ſhelter to Taganrok. Immediately a ruſſian army marched to his relief. Potemkin haſted thither himſelf; and his name alone was ſufficient to awe Batti-Gueray, who ſent to inform him that he voluntarily diveſted himſelf of the power which he had uſurped.

The khan Sahim-Gueray now entered again the Krimea; and, having called together the greater part of the Tartar chiefs, he delivered up to them thirteen of the principal rebels, who

* The antient Theodoſia, or the Cimmerium of antiquity.

were

were put to death on the ſpot. After which he ſaid:—"You ſee before you my two brothers "and myſelf: which of us will you have to "govern you? Name him freely. I will ſub-"ſcribe to your choice."—All the Tartars ſwore that they would have none but Sahim-Gueray.

This arrangement was not perhaps very agreeable to the court of Peterſburg; but, whatever courſe the Tartars ſhould have taken, its reſolution was already adopted; the Krimea was to be uſurped.

The empreſs immediately ſent off reinforcements to her armies in Poland and the Ukraine; and made every preparation that a ſpeedy declaration of war could require. She then wrote to her miniſter at Conſtantinople to demand far more extenſive advantages than thoſe which had been ſtipulated by the treaties; and to oblige the divan to promiſe, that, whatever might hereafter be the fate of the Krimea, it would not interfere. She did more; ſhe engaged the imprudent Sahim-Gueray to demand the ceſſion of Otchakoff.

The divan was incenſed at all theſe pretenſions: but, feeble and diſunited, they feigned a deſire to go to war; yet murmured, inſtead of flying to arms. They, however, ſent a paſha

to take poſſeſſion of the iſle of Taman. Sahim-Gueray, puſhed on by the Ruſſians, ſummoned the paſha to retire. Inſtead of obeying, the irritated paſha cauſed the envoy of the khan to be beheaded. The Ruſſians, pretending a determination to avenge the affront put upon that prince, requeſted him to grant them a paſſage for their troops to go and attack the Turks: but, no ſooner were they entered his dominions, than, inſtead of proceeding againſt Taman, they fell back, and ſpread themſelves over all the peninſula, of which they eaſily became maſters. General Balmain* took by ſurpriſe the town of Keffa, where the khan was, and forced the imams, the myrzas, and the other principal Tartars, to take the oath of allegiance to the empreſs.

During theſe tranſactions general Suvaroff had been employed in ſubduing the Tartars of the Kuban and the Budziaks. Prince Potemkin, who had advanced to the regions beyond the Kuban, was receiving the homage of ſultan Batti-Gueray and the hordes that roam about thoſe extenſive diſtricts.

The Ruſſians continued for ſome time to flatter the khan, and promiſed him a penſion of

* This officer is deſcended of a good family in North Britain.

800,000

800,000 rubles *. But both the prince and his country did not the leſs remain under the yoke.

Though this invaſion, executed in violation of every law of nations, and under ſanction of the ſacred names of avenging juſtice and protecting friendſhip, had not rouzed even ottoman indolence to arms, Catharine nevertheleſs publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify, in the eyes of Europe, the ſpoliation of the unfortunate Sahim-Gueray, and to accuſe the Turks of having broke the treaty of Kaïnardgi.

In the mean time the ruſſian khan abdicated his throne, and transferred the ſuppoſed right to the dominion of his country to the empreſs. This was no leſs than an abſolute ſale of a people and their country, the khan receiving conſiderable eſtates in Ruſſia for the purchaſe. It ſeems remarkable, that neither this abdication nor purchaſe are ſpecified as affording any title or claim to Ruſſia upon the country; nor indeed are they at all taken notice of in the manifeſto publiſhed by the empreſs on the occaſion †.

In that piece, which is ſigned by her majeſty, and dated at St. Peterſburg on the 8th of April

* Previous to the conqueſt he had a revenue of three millions of rubles.

† Which the reader may ſee at large in the Appendix ſubjoined to this Volume.

1783, (although it did not make its appearance until late in the ſummer,) the Krimea, the Kuban, and the iſland of Taman, are declared to be for ever annexed to her dominions. It ſtates, that the great ſucceſſes which enabled Ruſſia to ſubdue the Krimea in the late war, and to have retained it, if ſhe had ſo choſen, at the peace, would have afforded her a full right to its dominion. But that, and many other conqueſts, were ſacrificed to her deſire of eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity, and the friendſhip between the two empires, upon the moſt permanent foundations. That theſe motives had induced her to ſtipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, as the means of cutting off every poſſible cauſe of future diſſention.

The failure of this deſign, and all the ſubſequent troubles of the Krimea, are partly attributed to the ſecret inſinuations and conduct of a certain un-named, but well underſtood, power, in fomenting the diſcontents, partly to the reſtleſs temper of the Tartar nation, and partly to their being ſo long accuſtomed to ſervitude, that the greater part of the people were incapable of underſtanding or enjoying the benefits of that freedom and independence which had been obtained for them. To indemnify Ruſſia for

the

the expence of money and blood ſhe had already been at, to prevent ſimilar conſequences in future, for the preſervation of the public tranquillity, and to remove all cauſes of farther contention between the two empires, were held out to be the objects of the preſent meaſure. The Tartars were aſſured that they ſhould be placed upon an equality with the antient ſubjects of Ruſſia, and that they ſhould enjoy the moſt abſolute liberty of conſcience, with the full exerciſe of their public worſhip and religious ceremonies.

This manifeſto was anſwered by the Porte in ſo maſterly a manner, both with reſpect to ſtyle and matter, that it might be conſidered as a model for ſuch documents. After pointing out, and ſeverely animadverting upon the encroaching diſpoſition and the over-ruling ſpirit of the court of Peterſburg, and examining and invalidating the pretended claims upon the Krimea, it proceeds to expoſe, in a very ſtriking point of view, that wantonneſs of power, and inordinacy of ambition, which could extend them to the Kuban, to the iſle of Taman, and to the ſovereignty of the Euxine. It puts the queſtion, What pretenſion of right can Ruſſia have to territories annexed for ages to the dominions of the Porte? Would not ſuch claims, on any part

part of the ruſſian empire, be inſtantly repulſed? And can it be preſumed that the Sublime Porte, however deſirous of peace, will acquieſce in wrong, which, however it may be diſguiſed by ambition under the colour of policy, reaſon and equity muſt deem abſolute uſurpation? What northern power has the Porte offended? Whoſe territories have the ottoman troops invaded? In the country of what prince is the turkiſh ſtandard diſplayed? Content with the boundaries of empire aſſigned by God and the prophet, the wiſhes of the Porte are for peace: but, if the court of Ruſſia be determined in her claims, and will not recede, without acquiſitions of territory which do not belong to her, appealing to the world for the juſtice of its proceedings, the Sublime Porte muſt prepare for war, relying on the decrees of heaven, and confident in the interpoſition of the prophet of prophets, that he will protect his faithful followers in the hour of every difficulty.

The Porte, but little verſed in the art of reaſoning, and yet determined to reply to the empreſs's manifeſto, had recourſe to a chriſtian pen*, which eaſily proved the injuſtice of Catharine's pretenſions, and the perfidiouſneſs of

* The anſwer of the Porte was attributed to ſir Robert Ainſlie, the engliſh miniſter at Conſtantinople.

her

her conduct: but of what avail are ſuch writings? The cauſes of ſovereigns are pleaded effectually only by the ſword; and for a long time the Turks were afraid to employ it, or employed it but badly againſt the Ruſſians.

Not doubting that the Turks would declare war againſt her, and being apprehenſive that Guſtavus III. might take advantage of the abſence of the ruſſian armies for attacking her in that quarter, Catharine formed the deſign of concluding a new treaty of alliance with that prince. She had already propoſed it to him ſeveral times, both by the miniſter whom he had at Peterſburg, and by that whom ſhe kept at Stockholm; but her attempts were without effect. She reſolved on having a ſecond interview with the ſwediſh monarch.

The place of appointment was fixed for Frederikſham, a ſmall town ſtrongly fortified on the gulph of Finland, and the laſt poſſeſſed by the Ruſſians on the ſide of Sweden. The empreſs repaired thither * in a yacht. She was attended by count Ivan Chernicheff, the miniſter Bezborodko, the grand écuyer Nariſhkin, the favourite Lanſkoï, and ſeveral ladies of the court; among

* The 29th of June.

whom

whom were princeſs Daſhkoff, who for ſome time paſt had, to all appearance, regained the friendſhip of Catharine.

Guſtavus * had in his ſuite count Kreutz †, his firſt miniſter, general Armfeldt, Munck, and and ſeveral other officers.

The empreſs had previouſly cauſed two contiguous houſes to be hired, which were furniſhed with great elegance, and between which a gallery of communication had been conſtructed. One of theſe was occupied by herſelf, the other ſerved as quarters to the king of Sweden; in ſuch manner, that during the four days that theſe two ſovereigns remained at Frederikſham, they might freely diſcourſe together as often as occaſion required ‡.

* Only a few days before, being at a review, he had his arm broke by a fall from his horſe.

† The ſame who had been ambaſſador in Spain and in France.

‡ The empreſs, who was laviſh of her fine ſpeeches to the ſwediſh monarch, engaged Hoyer, a daniſh painter, to execute a picture, where that princeſs and Guſtavus III. are repreſented ſitting and converſing amicably together. The author of this hiſtory ſaw the original of this picture in the cabinet of the king of Sweden at Droningſholm; he likewiſe ſaw a copy of it at the painter Hoyer's houſe at Copenhagen.

The

The peace had been ſigned ſome months before*. There was no longer any reaſon for keeping the neutrality of the north in arms; yet the empreſs, being deſirous of it, Guſtavus conſented. She afterwards propoſed to that prince to remain neuter during the war with the Turks; and aſſured him, that after the termination of that war ſhe would aſſiſt him in gaining poſſeſſion of Norway. Flattered with this hope, Guſtavus promiſed to comply with all that Catharine required; and they parted highly ſatisfied one with the other, and their minds filled with their different ſchemes of conqueſt.

Before ſhe quitted Frederikſham, the empreſs gave her portrait to count Kreutz, and teſtified her magnificence towards the ſwediſh officers. Guſtavus alſo made divers preſents to the ruſſian miniſters and courtiers. He decorated the favourite Lanſkoï with the order of the polar ſtar; and, on his return to Sweden, he ſent to princeſs Daſhkoff a diploma of member of the academy of Stockholm.

The Porte was the leſs eager to make war, as the preparations of the Ruſſians ſeemed infallibly to aſſure them of victory. Seventy thouſand men, under the orders of prince Potemkin,

* In the month of January.

were

were aſſembled on the frontiers of the Krimea. Prince Repnin was at the head of 40,000, in readineſs to back the former. Marſhal Romantzoff, with a third army, had his general quarters at Kieff. The ſquadrons of the Euxine were armed; and ten ſail of the line, with ſeveral frigates, were only waiting the ſignal for proceeding from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

1784. The court of London, vexed that Ruſſia had appeared at the head of the armed neutrality, ſtrained every nerve to induce the divan to have recourſe to arms: but in vain. France and Auſtria prevented it. Inſtead of fighting, they took the better mode of negotiation. By a new treaty, ſigned at Conſtantinople, between the ruſſian plenipotentiary Bulgakoff and the miniſters of the grand ſignior, the empreſs retained the ſovereignty of the Krimea, of the iſle of Taman, and a great part of the Kuban; and the Turks acknowledged the right which ſhe pretended inconteſtibly to have to the dominion of the Euxine, and to the paſſage of the Dardanelles. Thus Catharine acquired, without the neceſſity of going to war, a vaſt territory, and 1,500,000 new ſubjects.

The empreſs reſtored their antient names to the Krimea and to the Kuban. The former of

theſe

theſe countries was called Tavrida, and the other Caucaſus *.

The example of Sahim-Gueray might have taught the other princes to dread the cruel protection of Ruſſia: but the preſents of prince Potemkin dazzled the eyes of ſome of them. Heraclius, ſovereign of Kartalinia and Kakhetti, who had formerly borne arms under the famous Thamas Kouli-khan, and fought in the laſt war of the Ruſſians againſt the Turks, performed homage to Catharine for his dominions.

Solomon, ſultan of Immeritia and Georgia, was alſo purſued by the courteous intrigues and the treacherous benefits of the empreſs and the favourite. Brave and haughty, he at firſt reſolutely perſiſted in depending entirely on his

* Which never fail to remind us of the old ſtories of the grecian hiſtory: Iphigenia in Tauris; the race-ground of Achilles; the cities Pantikapæum, Boſporus, Tanais; and of the chained Prometheus, the tribes of Caucaſus, and Circaſſia, ſtill famous for the beauty of its ladies. The territory of the Krimea is larger than the kingdom of Pruſſia was at that time (that is, Eaſt and Weſt Pruſſia and the Netz diſtrict); has a rich ſoil, but is poor in people. Catharine herſelf brought away in 1779 the numerous Greeks that inhabited the ſouthern part of the peninſula into her own country; though they have not been very proſperous in their new diſtricts: at that time, therefore, ſhe ſeems to have had no thoughts of taking poſſeſſion of it.

ſcymetar; but a mound of gold, a crown, and oſtentatious promiſes, reduced him to ſlavery. Shortly after this he died; and ſultan David his ſon was incapable of imitating him, except in his weakneſſes.

Potemkin did not invade the country of the Zaporavians; but, ever combining artifice with force, he carried off 60,000 of theſe Koſaks, and ſent them into the Krimea, where he founded thoſe colonies which at preſent furniſh ſailors to the ſquadrons of the Euxine, and eſpecially to the galley-fleet of Nicolaeff.

While employed in extending the empire of his ſovereign, prince Potemkin was not unmindful of his perſonal intereſts. Though proprietor of immenſe eſtates in different provinces of Ruſſia, he ſtill acquired a part of the rich domains which the princes Lubomirſky and Sapieha had poſſeſſed in Podolia and Lithuania. His enemies thought that he was providing for a retreat into Poland: but, whatever were his intentions, never did his favour appear ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, never had he been attached to Ruſſia by ſo many titles and employments. The empreſs honoured him with the ſurname of Tavritſcheſky *, gave him the government of Tavrida,

* The Taurian.

with

with the rank of grand admiral of the Euxine, and built for him the magnificent palace in Peterſburg which bears the name of Tavritſcheſky.

This ſuperb edifice, the Taurian Palace, conſiſts properly of only a ground floor; but the body of the building, the wings whereof extend to a prodigious length, has over the portal two ſtories, ſupported by columns, which are covered at top by a grand cupola. The entrance of the main building leads into an open ſpace, in which on both ſides lodging rooms project. Through this is the grand entrance into a quadrangular veſtibule, ſurrounded by columns of extraordinary magnitude, and lighted from above by the windows of the ſecond ſtory. A gallery at a conſiderable height runs round it, for the orcheſtra, which is alſo provided with an organ. From this veſtibule the ſpectator proceeds into the grand hall, through a double row of columns. If it be poſſible by verbal deſcription to excite the impreſſion which the ſight of this temple of gigantic architecture produces, it can only be done by the moſt artleſs and ſimple repreſentation. Let the reader then figure to himſelf a hall upwards of 100 paces in length, proportionably broad, having the roof ſupported by a double colonnade of coloſſal pillars. At about

half the height between theſe pillars are boxes, ornamented with ſilk curtains and feſtoons. In the paſſage formed by the double rows of pillars, hang at ſtated diſtances large cryſtal luſtres from London, the lights of which are reflected by a mirror of uncommon ſize at each end of the room. The room itſelf has neither ornaments nor furniture, it being only deſigned for grand entertainments: but, in the two ſemicircles which terminate the colonnades, ſtand two vaſes of carrara marble, which by their extraordinary magnitude and the excellence of the workmanſhip, correſpond with the grandeur and magnificence of the whole. Now let the reader, with his intellectual compaſſes, ſtrike out a ſemicircle from one end of this great colonnade to the other, on the ſide facing the veſtibule by which he entered, and this will incloſe the winter-garden, of itſelf an enormous building; the roof of which being too large to ſupport itſelf without columns, theſe are made to reſemble palm trees. The warmth is kept up by numerous flues in the walls and columns, and leaden pipes with hot water run in various ramifications under ground beneath the parterres and graſs plots. The walks of this garden lead between flowery ſhrubs and fruit-bearing hedges, in ſerpentine directions over little hills, and to a variety of bowers, occaſioning

caſioning at every ſtep ſome new ſurpriſe. The eye, when weary of the luxurious mixture of gaudy colours in the vegetable world, recreates itſelf in contemplating the choiceſt productions of art. Here a grecian head invites our admiration; there the attention is fixed by a motley collection of rare fiſhes in cryſtal vaſes. We turn from theſe objects to enter a grotto of mirror-glaſs, which reflects the trees, and plants, and ſtatues, and flowers in multiplied diverſity, or to gaze at the ſingular mixture of colours in the faces of a mirror-obeliſk. The genial warmth, the odour of the nobler plants, the voluptuous ſilence that reign in this inchanting garden, lull the fancy into ſweet romantic dreams: we think ourſelves in the groves of Italy, while torpid nature, through the windows of this pavilion, announces the ſeverity of winter.—In the centre of this bold creation ſtands on an elevated pedeſtal the ſtatue of. Catharine II. of carrara marble, with the attributes of legiſlatrix.—On the death of prince Potemkin the empreſs adopted this as her autumnal palace; for which purpoſe the left wing was lengthened by taking in the whole ſide of a ſtreet. In making the neceſſary alterations 1500 men were employed, who continued their work in the night by the light of torches, that it might be ready for the coming autumn.

Compare the foregoing deſcription of the winter-garden with that of the climate of Ruſſia*.

In proportion as the number of thoſe who had long been in her ſervice diminiſhed, Catharine doubtleſs was the better able to judge of their value. She loſt now the two principal chiefs of the conſpiracy that had placed her on the throne. Count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin and prince Gregory Orloff died almoſt at the ſame time, one at Peterſburg, the other at Moſco.

Panin died of grief and chagrin, a fatal malady to which diſcarded miniſters are very liable †. From the moment when Potemkin reſiſted him in the council and deprived him of the management of affairs, he began viſibly to decline, and was a ſtranger to all repoſe of mind but what he looked for in death.

Prince Orloff cloſed his term of life in a ſtill more tremendous manner. Though he re-

* In our preliminaries, vol. i. p. 44, 45, & ſeq. See Storch's "Gemælde von St. Peterſburg."

† Count Panin died the 31ſt of March 1783, and left behind him the character of an honeſt well-meaning man. At his death his eſtates were ſold for 173,000 rubles, which was not ſufficient to pay his debts. Many inſtances of his generoſity are well known: of 9000 boors once preſented him by the empreſs, he gave 4000 among three of his ſecretaries in the department of foreign affairs.

mained in poſſeſſion of the benefits which the empreſs had heaped upon him, and was the huſband of a young and handſome wife, the preſence of the new favourites was inſupportable to him. He paſſed almoſt all the latter years of his life in travelling. In 1782 he ſtopped at Lauſanne, where he had the misfortune to loſe his wife, which threw him into a deep melancholy. He immediately returned to court, but it was only to preſent to his former friends the ſad ſpectacle of his inſanity. At one moment he delivered himſelf up to an extravagant gaiety*, which made the courtiers laugh: then, burſting out into reproaches againſt the empreſs, he ſtruck terror and amazement in all that heard him, and plunged the monarch herſelf in the bitterneſs of grief. At length he was forced to retire

* When Gregory Orloff was all powerful at court, he frequently called Catharine by the diminutive of her name, *Kattinka* or *Katouſchka*. After his return from his firſt travels, he retained this habit. He had brought with him from Holland a ſort of doctor, or rather a buffoon, named Janijoſſy, who took the ſame liberty. The empreſs was at times ſubject to fits of low ſpirits, of which this phyſician pretended to cure her; and when he found her in a dull humour, he would ſay, "Kattinka, we muſt be cheerful "in order to be well, and we muſt walk in order to be "cheerful"—Then, giving her his arm, he walked with her about the gardens of the palace.

to Moſco. There his remorſe revived with tenfold fury. The bleeding ſhade of Peter III. purſued him into every retreat; haunted his affrighted mind by day, and ſcared him in the viſions of the night; he beheld it inceſſantly aiming at him an avenging dart, and he expired in deſpair*.

In the former period of his favour, Gregory Orloff had received of the empreſs a medallion ſurrounded with brilliants, on which was the portrait of that princeſs, and he wore it at his button-hole. After the death of the prince, count Vladimir Orloff came to Peterſburg to preſent this miniature to the ſovereign, who, returning it to him, bade him give it to his brother Alexèy, whom ſhe permitted to wear it. Surely an awful preſent!

Alexius Orloff reſided at Moſco at the time of the empreſs's death. Who would have thought that the ſequel to the revolution of 1762 was to be acted in 1797? The new emperor Paul Petrovitch, on coming to the crown, cauſed the corpſe of his father Peter III. after ſo many years had elapſed ſince its interment in the church of the monaſtery of St. Alex-

* In the month of April 1783.

ander

ander Nefsky, to be taken up and brought to the palace, in order to pay it ſimilar honours with thoſe to be ſhewn the defunct empreſs his wife. In the printed ceremonial, prince Baratinſky and count Alexèy Orloff were to ſtand one on each ſide the corpſe of Peter as *chief mourners*. That unfortunate monarch having omitted the ceremony of coronation, the imperial crown was fetched from Moſco, and placed upon his coffin as it lay beſide that of the empreſs, and over both a kind of true-love-knot, with this inſcription in ruſs: "Divided in life, united in death." The two chief mourners took their ſtation in preſence of the aſſembled court amid ſable cloaks, black hangings, lighted tapers, and all the ſolemnity of imperial woe. Count Alexèy, being bleſſed with ſtrong nerves and much uſage of the world, ſtood out the doleful ſcene; while prince Baratinſky, with a heart of finer mould, fainted under the weight of grief: and it was only by the repeated application of volatile ſalts and other ſtimulants, that he could be made to ſupport his ſtation during the three hours appointed by the ceremonial. Count Orloff, afterwards, received permiſſion, without aſking for it, to viſit foreign parts; and prince Baratinſky was ſpared the trouble in future of paying his attendance at court.

It happened in 1780, or thereabouts, that, after preſenting ſome travellers at court, the engliſh miniſter and his countrymen were honoured by her majeſty's converſation, during which ſhe ſaid, in her lively manner, and ſhewing prince Baratinſky who ſtood pretty near her: "Voila un homme qui m'a rendu le plus grand ſer-"vice dans un moment extremement critique." At hearing this, all preſent were filled with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, as the particulars of the revolution made one of thoſe *ſecrets* which every body knows; and it would have for ever remained liable to a wrong interpretation, if her majeſty had not almoſt immediately added, that, in ſtepping out of her carriage, her foot twiſted at the ancle, and if prince Baratinſky had not caught her at that inſtant, ſhe muſt have fallen on her face to the ground. This little anecdote, trifling in itſelf, ſeems to afford matter in evidence that ſhe was ignorant of the manner of her huſband's death as generally believed. Otherwiſe it can ſcarcely be imagined that a perſon of her preſence of mind would have hazarded ſo ambiguous an expreſſion.

CHAP. XII.

Relations of Ruſſia with Perſia, China, and Japan.—The empreſs reſolves to defend the rights of Joſeph II. over the Scheld.—Adventure of the grand duke at Gatſhina.—Death of Lanſkoï.—Marriage of prince Potemkin.—Yermoloff becomes favourite.—League of the electors.—Treaty of commerce with France.—Dinner of Toleration.—Momonoff ſucceeds Yermoloff.—The empreſs purchaſes the libraries of Voltaire and d'Alembert.—1784, 1785, 1786.

THE vicinity of the Caſpian invites the Ruſſians to trade with Perſia; and by Perſia they can eaſily proſecute a commerce with India. Accordingly, they have long profited by this advantage. Tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, who in a manner prepared the reign of his ſon Peter I. as Philip had prepared that of Alexander, cauſed ſome ſmall veſſels to be built by his dutch carpenters *, with which he protected the commerce carried on by his ſubjects with

* About the year 1660.

the

the inhabitants of the provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderan.

Peter I. whoſe genius favoured every thing that was grand or uſeful, extended theſe relations ſtill farther, and eſtabliſhed a counting-houſe at Schamachy, a rich and commercial town, which is ſaid to have been the antient abode of Cyrus *. Perſia was at that time a prey to a number of petty rebellious tyrants, who, taking advantage of the quarrels between the uſurper Mahmoud † and the feeble Schah-Huſſein ‡, pillaged and ravaged thoſe delightful countries. The Leſguis, a race of Tartars who are the antient Albanians, ruſhed down from mount Caucaſus, made themſelves maſters of Schamachy, and maſſacred the ruſſian merchants with the other inhabitants.

Juſtly incenſed at this outrage, Peter demanded juſtice of its authors: but, either from inability or inſolence, ſatisfaction was denied him. From that moment he reſolved to ſeek

* He is called Kur-khan by the Tartars and Perſians, who relate many particulars concerning that prince, unknown to the hiſtories in uſe among us. Some pretend that he had his name from the river Kur.

† Son of the barbarian Mirveïtz.

‡ Schah, or Schach, ſignifies *ſovereign*. Sophi is not a title; it is the name of a family, which traces back its origin to Tamerlane.

his

his own revenge, and by taking advantage of the troubles in Perſia, to gain poſſeſſion of the whole weſtern coaſt of the Caſpian. He embarked * on that ſea, ſailed as far as the town of Andréoff, landed, and proceeded to lay ſiege to Derbent, capital of the Dageſtan. Derbent †, a fortified town of conſiderable length, and taking its name from having formerly an iron gate, made no greater reſiſtance then than it ſince did in our times, when attacked by Valerian Zuboff ‡. The troops of Peter I. were victorious not only at Derbent but before the opulent town of Bachtu; and three provinces remained ſubmiſſive to the Ruſſians, till they were afterwards re-conquered by Thamas Koulikhan.

The interruption of the commerce of the Ruſſians with Perſia laſted for ſome time. It was not till 1744 that it was revived by the Engliſh, who obtained of the empreſs Elizabeth permiſſion to navigate the Caſpian. By this navigation they procured great quantities of fine ſilks, cotton, and the other valuable commodities the growth and manufacture of Perſia.

* In 1722.—See the hiſtory of Peter the great.

† Derbent, or Iron-gate, is called by the Turks Demir-Cadi.

‡ In the year 1796.

They

They eſtabliſhed a factory at Meſchek; they travelled with the caravans as far as the Greater Tartary, to Samarkand, and to Bolkara.

The appearance of the engliſh flag upon the Caſpian gave umbrage to the famous Thamas Kouli-khan: but, unable to contend with it, that artful tyrant came to the reſolution of depriving the Ruſſians of its aſſiſtance. In order to effect this, he gained over the captains Elton and Woodroffe *, who had under their command the engliſh veſſels, and they entered into his ſervice.

Elton, on being made admiral by Thamas Kouli-khan, cauſed ſhips of war to be conſtructed, with which he forced the ruſſian veſſels to ſalute the perſian flag, and to acknowledge its ſuperiority. The empreſs Elizabeth, having information of this proceeding, immediately revoked the permiſſion which ſhe had granted to the engliſh company, and ſought means of avenging herſelf on Thamas Kouli-khan, by raiſing him up enemies among his own ſoldiers. Shortly afterwards, this conqueror, while preparing to make a deſcent on Ruſſia, was aſſaſſinated, during his ſleep, in the plains of Mogan.

* It is to theſe two navigators that we are indebted for the only good map that has ever been made of the Caſpian.

From

From that time the Perſians, being involved in freſh troubles, thought no more about the affairs of the Caſpian; and all their ſhips were deſtroyed by the Ruſſians.

By the treaty of commerce renewed with the court of London in 1766, Catharine reſtored to the Engliſh the privileges of which they had been deprived by Elizabeth. But, whether from want of confidence, or whether on account of the confuſions that were ſecretly raiſed among them, they were never able to make that trade ſo profitable as their firſt company had done.

The Ruſſians then are almoſt the only people who derive any great advantage from the commerce of the Caſpian. With about 100 veſſels of between 40 and 80 tons burden, they go and fetch ſilk and cotton from Ghilan, carpets and fine ſtuffs from the other provinces, carrying in exchange to the Perſians, iron, ſteel, and furs.

Independently of this traffic, the Ruſſians carry on a conſiderable fiſhery on the Caſpian. In that ſea they take the ſhamaï, a fiſh reſembling the herring, and the koſſa, greatly ſuperior in flavour to the roach of the ocean *. They

* The fiſh of the Caſpian is of a taſte far more delicate than that of other ſeas. This ſuperiority is attributed to the quality of the waters, which is bitter and not ſalt.

alſo

alſo take great numbers of ſea-dogs, the ſkins of which they ſell to the Engliſh and the Dutch, making uſe of the fat in the preparation of ſoap.

The rivers of Perſia alſo ſupply the Ruſſians with great quantities of thoſe fiſh from whence the caviar * is made; a grand article of commerce,

* Caviar, by the Ruſſians called *ikra*, an article of ſo much conſequence to the induſtry and to the palates of the Ruſſians, is prepared in the parts about the Volga, the Ural, and the Caſpian, of the roes of ſturgeons, ſterlets, ſevrugas, and ſitrinas. The lump of roe is the firſt thing taken out after cutting up the fiſh. A large beluga will yield about five pood of roe; but which, on account of the quantity of viſcous matter mixed with it, is not much eſteemed. From a ſturgeon never more than 30 pound has been taken, and from the ſevruga only 10 or 12. As of the beluga-roe five eggs weigh a grain, ſo a large beluga has ſix or ſeven millions of eggs. The different treatment of the roe determines the different quality of the caviar. The firſt ſpecies is the preſſed caviar. To this purpoſe the roes are only cleanſed from the coarſeſt ſtrings and fibres, ſalted with two pound of ſalt to the pood, and ſpread out to dry in the air. This preparation in fair weather requires about ſix hours, and in cloudy weather at moſt a day. It is now immediately put into tubs. To make this ſort for ſale, it is common to take the ſpoiled roes of dead fiſh thrown upon the ſhore, or ſuch as are too greaſy for other ſorts, and even the fragments and offals that would not paſs through the ſieve for the finer kinds, ſalt it in boxes, and then tread it down in tight tubs. Such caviar coſts in Aſtrakhan

merce, and without which ſcarcely any eatables are ſerved in the north.

The

Aſtrakhan half a ruble the pood.—The ſeaſoned or grainy ſort is better than this. When the roe is cleanſed from the coarſer particles, it is ſhaken into long troughs, ſalted with eight or ten pounds to the pood, and well mixed with it. It is now brought to the ſieve or ſtretched net-work, through which it is ſqueezed, in order that the remaining fibrous parts may be completely ſeparated: then, like the former, it is preſſed in tubs. The pood coſts between one and two rubles; and this ſort is the uſual food of the common people during the lents or faſts enjoined by the religion of the country: but it is too ſalt for the taſte of every one. The beſt ſort is the ſack-caviar, for the cleanlineſs of its preparation and its exquiſite reliſh. After being cleanſed it is ſteeped in brine, till the grains are quite ſoft. It is then hung up in long pointed bags, like jelly-bags, about half a pood in each, and brine again poured in upon it. When this is all drained off, the bag is wrung between the hands till all the moiſture is out. It is then ſet to dry twelve hours in the bag; it is trod down in tubs by a fellow in leather ſtockings. This ſort requires the roe to be quite freſh, and is the deareſt, coſting two rubles the pood, and upwards. In winter the roe is eaten entirely freſh; and a great dainty it is. In general, the ſtandard for good caviar is, the leſs ſalt the better; but likewiſe the leſs time will it keep. The beſt caviar, as well as the beſt iſinglaſs, comes from the river Ural, where the Koſaks have the beſt method of preparing them. Formerly the trade in caviar was a monopoly of the crown; and in Peter the firſt's time the contract brought him 80,000 rubles, in the middle of the preſent

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The fleet maintained in the Caſpian by Catharine was conſtructed of oaks from Kaſan *, and conſiſted of three frigates, five corvettes, and a bomb-boat. Theſe veſſels were continually cruiſing along the coaſts of Perſia, and burnt all the ſhips, and even all the floats of timber which they happened to meet. Their commanders had beſides poſitive orders to ſow diſcord between the ſeveral khans, and always to ſupport the weaker againſt the more ſtrong; a method which the empreſs had found too ſucceſsful both in Poland and in the Krimea, to admit of her neglecting it in behalf of the Perſians.

In 1782 that princeſs adopted the reſolution of executing the project formed by Peter I.

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preſent century 100,000. At preſent it is free. In the year 1764 the quantity exported amounted to 48,000 rubles, in 1768 only to 41,000. In later years the quantity exported has been more various than that of iſinglaſs. In the year 1778 it amounted to 2758 pood, in 1783 to 10,706 pood, in 1786 to 2476 pood, in 1788 to 15,441 pood. Caviar goes moſtly to Italy, (preſſed, of courſe, becauſe of the voyage,) where it is eaten by the rich in faſt-time. In Germany alſo, with the increaſe of luxury, it is now much more in requeſt than it was 30 years ago, when a phyſician in a publication called it a delicacy almoſt unknown.

* The environs of Aſtrakhan furniſh none at all.

againſt

againſt Perſia, by extending her dominion on the weſtern ſhores of the Caſpian. The diſſentions which continued to lay waſte thoſe fertile regions ſeemed to favour her ambitious views. But ſhe met with ſome obſtacles which ſhe had not expected.

The moſt powerful of the tyrants of Perſia was at that time the khan Aga-Mahmed. Sprung from one of the firſt families of the Koraſſan, Aga-Mahmed was ſtill in his cradle when his father and his brothers were * ſtrangled by order of Thamas Kouli-khan. The conqueror contented himſelf with taking precautions to prevent this infant from ever perpetuating his race: but Aga-Mahmed nevertheleſs, like the eunuch Narſes, became a warrior and a ſtateſman.

After the death of Thamas Kouli-khan, the mother of Aga-Mahmed married again, and had ſeveral other children, who became the determined enemies of their brother. One of them, Murtuza Kouli-khan, thinking to procure powerful ſuccours from Ruſſia, appeared to be, with the utmoſt ſervility, devoted to that cabinet. But, in ſpite of Murtuza, in ſpite of Abulfat, ſon of Kerim-khan the laſt ruler; in ſhort, in ſpite of all his rivals, Aga-Mahmed

* It was about the year 1738.

had the ſkill to render himſelf maſter of the Ghilan, the Mazanderan, the Schirvan, and ſeveral other provinces.

The empreſs gave orders to count Voïnovitch *, commander of her ſquadron on the Caſpian, to employ all poſſible means for forming ſome eſtabliſhments on the perſian coaſts. Voïnovitch ſailed with the neceſſary troops and ammunition, and repaired to Aſterabat, the beſt port of the Mazanderan, which is the antient country of the Mardi. Aga-Mahmed then reſided at Ferabat; where Voïnovitch preſented him his requeſt for permiſſion to eſtabliſh a counting-houſe on the coaſt. The khan, conſidering perhaps that he was not able to drive away the Ruſſians by force of arms, or rather chooſing to employ artifice againſt them, pretended to accede to the deſires of Voïnovitch.

The Ruſſians immediately ſet about conſtructing a fortreſs, which they furniſhed with 18 guns; whereof Aga-Mahmed being informed, continued his diſſimulation, but was reſolved to give them a check. He came to look at the

* Count Voïnovitch was a Sclavonian by birth. Eight years after his expedition into Perſia, he ſerved in the Euxine in quality of commodore: but, happening to diſpleaſe prince Potemkin, he made him lay aſide the ruſſian uniform, and diſmiſſed him with diſgrace.

fortreſs,

fortreſs, admired the building, praiſed the activity of the Ruſſians, and invited himſelf to dine, with his attendants, on board the frigate of Voïnovitch.

After having merrily ſpent the day, and teſtified great friendſhip for the Ruſſians, the khan engaged them in return to come and take a dinner at one of his country-ſeats among the mountains. Thither they repaired the ſucceeding day. But they had no ſooner entered his houſe, than Aga-Mahmed cauſed them to be put in irons; at the ſame time threatening Voïnovitch to have his head cut off; and to ſerve all his officers in the ſame manner, unleſs the fortreſs was immediately razed to the ground.

Voïnovitch, who plainly ſaw that all reſiſtance would be fruitleſs, ſigned an order, which was carried to the commandant of the fort. The cannons were re-ſhipped, and the wall broke down. This done, Aga-Mahmed ordered the ruſſian officers into his preſence; and, not ſatisfied with loading them with ſcornful and injurious language, he delivered ſeveral of them over to his ſlaves; who, after inflicting on them every ſort of indignity, were commanded to drive them and their companions, with ſcourges, to their ſhips.

The court of Peterſburg revenged itſelf no otherwiſe for theſe affronts than by continuing

to foment the diſſentions that were raging in Perſia. Its agents there raiſed up againſt Aga-Mahmed a rival, who ſpeedily became the moſt formidable of his enemies, and took from him the province of Ghilan. This conqueror, who was called Ghedahed-khan, profiting by the arms and ammunition ſecretly conveyed to him by the Ruſſians, ſeemed ready to deſpoil Aga-Mahmed of all his power. But the latter, finding means to corrupt the ruſſian agent, Tomanoffsky, and the conſul Skilitch, both reſiding at Sinſili, they betrayed Ghedahed-khan, and delivered him to Aga-Mahmed; who cauſed him to be beheaded, and became once more the quiet poſſeſſor of the Ghilan.

In the mean time the Ruſſians affected publicly to take no part in theſe quarrels. Some time after the death of Ghedahed-khan, prince Potemkin commiſſioned one of his officers to go and compliment Aga-Mahmed, who was then at Riatſch, the capital of the Ghilan; recommending him, at the ſame time, to ſtudy the character of the khan, and to ſound his intentions in regard to Ruſſia. The officer repaired to Riatſch, and eaſily obtained an audience of Aga-Mahmed. But, on converſing with him, he perceived him to look gloomy and thoughtful; which cauſed him to ſuſpect ſome ſiniſter deſign. Upon this, he artfully obſerved, that although

although he was in the ſervice of Ruſſia, he was born an Engliſhman, and that his nation was ſtrongly attached to the Perſians, with whom it carried on an extenſive commerce in the gulph of Baſſora. Suddenly the khan aſſumed a ſmiling air, ſpoke to the envoy in a gentle tone, and diſmiſſed him with preſents.

Theſe reciprocal teſtimonies of falſe good-will were followed by a prompt aggreſſion. Murtuza-Kouli-khan, ſupported by the Ruſſians, attempted to make a new incurſion into the Ghilan; but he was repulſed by khan Solyman, who commanded there in the abſence of Aga-Mahmed; and this latter loſt no time in bending every effort to the entire ſubjugation of Perſia and Georgia *. Nor was he content with this: inheriting the projects of the formidable Shah-Nadir, he wanted to make himſelf maſter of the province of Aſtrakhan, and ſhut up the Caſpian from the Ruſſians. But how could he effect this, unleſs the Turks would act in concert with him? And have ever the Turks been able thoroughly to concur with an ally in hoſtilities againſt their enemies?

The commerce carried on by the Ruſſians with China was not leſs beneficial than that of

* The Ruſſians have ſince made themſelves maſters of Georgia and Circaſſia.

the Caſpian. It is now about 130 years * ſince the Siberians and the Bukharians firſt ſet up the caravans, which, croſſing chineſe Tartary, carried their commodities as far as Pekin. Theſe conſiſted in furs, for which they received in exchange gold, ſilver, precious ſtones †, ſtuffs, tea, and all thoſe objects invented by the Chineſe, and to which their induſtry, often fantaſtical, has given ſo great a degree of perfection.

The arrogance and ill conduct of the Ruſſians ſoon cauſed them to be denied acceſs to China. They were no longer allowed to traffic beyond the frontiers of that empire; their commerce was at ſeveral periods interrupted and reſumed: at length, ſome time before the death of the empreſs Elizabeth, freſh quarrels brought on a new ſuſpenſion.

Catharine ſaw the neceſſity of reviving this commerce, and accordingly made propoſals to the emperor of China; which were agreed to by that prince, who in 1780 appointed the little town of Kiachta to be the common rendezvous to the ruſſian and chineſe merchants. The

* Towards the year 1653.—The caravans employed three years in going to Pekin, ſtopping there and returning to Tobolſk.

† The largeſt ruby that is known to be in the world was brought from China to prince Gargarin, governor of Siberia. It came afterwards into the hands of prince Mentchikoff, and is at preſent one of the ornaments of the imperial crown. See the hiſtory of Peter the great.

empreſs,

empreſs, at the ſame time, ſent an archimandrite from Moſco, with ſeveral young Ruſſians, to go to Pekin to ſtudy the chineſe language.

She alſo ſet on foot ſeveral maritime expeditions to Kamtſhatka. After the example of the Engliſh, who make voyages for the ſake of purchaſing furs on the north-weſtern coaſt of America, ſeveral Ruſſian veſſels proceeded to China; where they traded with ſucceſs.

There was yet another country with which Catharine was deſirous of having commercial connections. The northern coaſts of Ruſſia, and eſpecially her eſtabliſhments in many of the iſles of the northern Archipelago, approximated her with the natives of Japan. As we have often had occaſion in other inſtances to remark, ſo now again a favourable incident occurred to promote the deſign of the empreſs.

Some Japaneſe were ſhipwrecked in theſe unfrequented ſeas *, and ſaved themſelves on the coaſt of Ruſſia. An inhabitant of Irkutſk, named Laxmann, brought one of them to Peterſburg. Catharine received him with kindneſs, and gave him maſters, who, while they were teaching him the ruſſian and tartarian languages, learnt enough of the japaneſe to enable them to form ſome commercial connections. This en-

* The Japaneſe bark was ſtranded on Mednoï-oſtroff, or the Copper iſland.

terpriſe has not as yet been attended with any great degree of ſucceſs: but there is no reaſon to doubt that Ruſſia, ſooner or later, will ſhare in the great profits made by the Dutch at Japan.

Though Catharine was adding to her vaſt dominions in every quarter; though ſhe appropriated to herſelf, in peace or war, all the territory on which ſhe could ſeize with impunity, ſhe was not the leſs jealous of every acceſſion of power to her rivals. She had long been particularly uneaſy at the increaſing fame of Frederic II. and the preponderance he had acquired in Europe. From the firſt partition of Poland, Frederic had daily been making encroachments on the privileges of the city of Dantzick, and preſſed it to ſuch a degree, that it was almoſt obliged to ſurrender itſelf to him, or relinquiſh its commerce. Catharine was the more exaſperated at ſeeing Dantzick fall under the power of the Pruſſians, as the court of Ruſſia had long ſince itſelf formed the project of taking poſſeſſion of that town, and had only been induced to lay it aſide by the private remonſtrances that were made by the government of France to the chancellor Vorontzoff *.

* The chancellor Vorontzoff was long engaged in an epiſtolary correſpondence with Tercier, entruſted, in conjunction with the count de Broglio, with the ſecret correſpondence of Louis XV.

The

The magiſtrates of Dantzick were artfully invited by the miniſter Stackelberg, to implore the protection of Catharine. She immediately wrote to the king of Pruſſia with an offer of her mediation; which procedure retarded, for ſome time, the invaſion of Dantzick.

Another corner of Europe was in the mean time diſturbed by differences of an oppoſite nature. Joſeph II. had formed the deſign of opening the Scheldt. To this an oppoſition was made by the Dutch, who uſed every effort to engage Frederic to ſupport by force of arms their covetous pretenſions. Catharine, on this occaſion, declared that ſhe was reſolved to ſupport the rights of the emperor of Germany. Upon this, the Dutch, whoſe cannon had already inſulted the auſtrian flag, dreading an excluſion from the ports of the Baltic, adopted the wiſeſt method, of negotiating inſtead of fighting.

While Catharine was ſecuring peace without the empire, and giving it to other powers, cabals and intrigues were reviving in her court. No methods were left unemployed by the diſaffected for inciting the grand duke againſt his mother, and for irritating that princeſs againſt him. His imperial highneſs generally ſpent the autumn at Gatſhina, a country ſeat diſtant about 18 verſts from Tzarſko-ſelo. All at once a report was

ſpread

ſpread that he deſigned to build a town there, and to give liberty to all who ſhould come and live in it. The prince was not a little ſurpriſed to ſee the peaſants running in crowds from various parts of the empire to partake of theſe benefits. But, with great prudence, he kindly diſmiſſed them, and thus diſſipated an incipient revolt, from which undoubtedly great advantages were expected by the parties concerned.

The perſpicacity and the zeal of Bezborodko rendered him neceſſary to the empreſs; and, having ſucceeded to Panin, he ſeemed to have inherited his ſentiments. Connected with the family of Vorontzoff*, he was the ſecret opponent of Potemkin, who diſdained all his enemies, openly braved them, and ſometimes made them objects of his ſport with peculiar addreſs.

Lanſkoï, beloved by Potemkin, to whom he was alſo greatly attached, became daily more dear to the empreſs. The education of this favourite had been much neglected; Catharine took the care of his improvement on herſelf. She adorned his mind with every uſeful know-

* The two Vorontzoffs are brothers of princeſs Daſhkoff, and of the favourite lady of Peter III. One of them, Alexander Vorontzoff, was placed at the head of the college of commerce; the other, Sergius Vorontzoff, is the preſent miniſter in England.

ledge;

ledge; and he was very ſoon as diſtinguiſhable for his acquirements, and the ſuperior elegance of his manners, as he was already by the graces of his perſon. Her love for this amiable youth was ardent and ſincere: ſhe admired in him her own creation. But this ſatisfaction was not of long continuance. Lanſkoï was attacked with a violent fever, and periſhed in the flower of his age, in the arms of her majeſty, who laviſhed upon him, to the very laſt moment, all the tenderneſs the moſt paſſionate love could inſpire.

When he was no more, ſhe gave herſelf up to the moſt poignant ſorrow. The imperial apartments, from the abodes of joy reſembled now the lonely deſart. Catharine refuſed all ſuſtenance for ſeveral days, and remained three months without going out of her palace of Tzarſko-ſelo *. She afterwards raiſed a ſuperb mau-

* On the firſt ſhock occaſioned by the death of Lanſkoï, the empreſs ordered herſelf to be put to bed, indifferent to life or death, being almoſt entirely abſorbed in grief. The grand duke and grand ducheſs, on hearing of this, drove immediately to Tzarſko-ſelo: but when they were arrived at the door of the bed-chamber, and their preſence was announced to the empreſs, ſhe called to them in an altered tone of voice not to come in; and they were obliged to return without ſeeing her.

ſoleum

ſoleum * to Lanſkoï, in the gardens of that imperial ſeat, juſt viſible through the trees from the windows of her private apartment; and, more than two years afterwards, accidentally walking near this monument, the people of the court who were with her, obſerved her to ſhed abundance of tears †.

Prince

* This beautiful little piece of architecture was conſtructed by Mr. Charles Cameron, an engliſh artiſt.

† The fortune of Lanſkoï was eſtimated at 3,000,000 of rubles. He bequeathed it to the empreſs, which ſhe returned to the ſiſters of that favourite, reſerving only to herſelf the right of purchaſing the pictures, the medals, the library, the plate, and one landed eſtate valued at 400,000 rubles, of which ſhe had made him a preſent.—One fine collection of coins, however, was irreparably loſt ſome time before. In 1780 the late Dr. John Glen King made a viſit to Peterſburg, and brought with him a collection of britiſh and ſaxon coins that had been begun by Charles I. and being ſold after the death of that unfortunate prince, it paſſed into different hands, receiving additions by its ſeveral poſſeſſors; at length being bought by a clergyman who had a taſte that way, he increaſed it by purchaſes, to the detriment of his ſlender income. On his deceaſe it was almoſt the only property that fell to his widow. Not able to find a purchaſer for it in England, the doctor humanely took charge of the collection, in hopes of diſpoſing of it in Ruſſia for the benefit of the relict of his friend. He was adviſed to offer it to the new favourite; and Lanſkoï, on hearing the account of it, accepted the offer, paid the money, and ordered

Prince Potemkin took upon him to diſpel the grief of Catharine. He was almoſt the only perſon who could preſume to penetrate the ſolitude in which ſhe paſſed her hours. His influence with her increaſed from day to day; and, whether from gratitude or from real attachment, ſhe reſolved, it is ſaid, to bind him to her by indiſſoluble ties, and ſecretly gave him her hand *.

The bonds of wedlock were unable to fix either the taſte of Potemkin or the fancy of Catharine. He ſoon ſet himſelf free from the obligations this tie impoſes, and delegated them to a younger and more ardent favourite.

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ordered it to his new houſe. There it was negligently placed; and ſome few days afterwards, the coins were ſeen in the hands of the children of the vaſſals that had the unfiniſhed buildings in their care, who were rolling them to and fro; in ſhort, ſome pieces fell through the floors, others perhaps found their way to the brandy-ſhop, Lanſkoï never thought of his purchaſe more, and it was entirely loſt without any inquiry being made about it.

* Undoubtedly nothing is more difficult than to prove the authenticity of ſuch a marriage. But the french authors ſay, that a perſon highly worthy of credit aſſured them that the nieces of prince Potemkin were in poſſeſſion of the certificates of that event, and that one of them told him ſo. After all, both the empreſs and prince Potemkin being dead, this ſecret is of no more importance than that of the marriage of Louis XIV. with madame de Maintenon.

All

All who had ambition at court were deſirous of ſeeing the place now vacant by the death of Lanſkoï, filled up by ſome perſonage who would allow them to ſhare in the favours dependent on it. Princeſs Daſhkoff was induſtrious in her endeavours to obtain it for her ſon; and ſucceſs for a moment ſeemed to wait on her intrigues.

The young prince Daſhkoff was tall, well made, and of a figure adapted to make ſome impreſſion on the heart of the empreſs *. Prince Potemkin, who was aware of the meaſures employed to bring this matter about, carefully avoided any apparent oppoſition, knowing that contradiction only ſerves as a ſtimulant. Feigning on the contrary a wiſh to favour the young Daſhkoff, he took greater notice of his family, with whom he had hitherto been on very indifferent terms. No one was better ſkilled in the art of obſerving and imitating whatever was ridiculous in the perſons whom he frequented; and he neglected not to make Catharine remark thoſe of princeſs Daſhkoff and her ſon. The

* Prince Daſhkoff is now, or was lately with his regiment at Mohileff. Among a number of other accompliſhments which he poſſeſſes, he ſpeaks the engliſh language remarkably well, having had his education in Scotland. The prince is a fellow of the royal ſociety of London.

empreſs

empreſs laughed heartily at his mimickry; and the next day Potemkin ſent to her, one after another, two ſubaltern officers of the guards, Yermoloff and Momonoff, with ſome trifling commiſſion, in order to give her an opportunity to ſee them. Catharine decided in favour of the former.

A ball was given at court. Young Daſhkoff was there, and diſplayed an extraordinary magnificence. The courtiers imagined his triumph was at hand, and already paid him thoſe marks of deference which are the appendages of favouritiſm. Potemkin redoubled his attention to princeſs Daſhkoff. With this ſhe was ſo delighted, that on the following day ſhe wrote him a note, requeſting him to admit her nephew the young count Butturlin into the number of his aides-de-camp. Potemkin miſchievouſly anſwered her, that all the places of aides-de-camp to him were full, and that the laſt had juſt been given to lieutenant Yermoloff.

The name as well as the perſon that bore it were alike unknown to the princeſs Daſhkoff. That very day ſhe became acquainted with them both, on perceiving Yermoloff at the Hermitage, ſtanding behind the chair of the empreſs.

1785. Frederic II. who regarded the alliance between Auſtria and Ruſſia as highly

dangerous to Pruſſia, and even to all Germany, invited the electors and the other princes of the empire to unite for the defence of the germanic conſtitution *. The king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, was one of the firſt who entered into the confederacy: a ſtep which cauſed great diſpleaſure both to the empreſs and to Potemkin.

The court of London, deſirous of renewing its treaty of commerce with Ruſſia, ſent, in quality of miniſter plenipotentiary, to St. Peterſburg, Alleyne Fitzherbert eſq. † who, to the untowardneſs of circumſtances, added the miſtake of attaching himſelf to the party of the Vorontzoffs and of Bezborodko. The commerce which binds Ruſſia to England is equally beneficial to both powers; and Catharine certainly had no deſire to relinquiſh it: but ſhe was not diſpleaſed at being able to give a proof of her reſentment againſt the court of London, by delaying the renewal of the treaty ‡.

Perhaps it may be neceſſary here to ſtate briefly in what the commerce carried on by the Engliſh with the Ruſſians conſiſts. This com-

* The treaty was ſigned at Berlin the 23d of July 1785.

† Now lord St. Helens.

‡ That treaty had yet two years to run.

merce

merce began in the port of Archangel, which the Engliſh diſcovered about the middle of the ſixteenth century, while in ſearch of a north-eaſt paſſage to the Indies. From Archangel they went up the Dvina, proceeded over land to Moſco, and there formed connections, which they afterwards greatly extended, when Peter I. had completed the conqueſt of Livonia, and opened to them the ports of St. Peterſburg, of Reval, of Riga, and of Narva. Since that æra the commerce with Ruſſia is become one of the moſt lucrative in which Great Britain is engaged, and the moſt uſeful to her marine.

The Engliſh carry to Ruſſia * the products of their country, of their manufactures, and of their colonies

* About the year 1553, in the reign of Edward VI. on the propoſal of the famous navigator Sebaſtian Cabot, a veſſel was fitted out for the purpoſe of diſcovering a north-eaſt paſſage to China and India, the command of which was given to ſir Hugh Willoughby, and after him to Richard Chanceller. This latter was wrecked in the bay of St. Nicholas in the White-ſea, where at that time was only a monaſtery. From this accident began the trade between the Engliſh and the Ruſſians. Tzar Ivan Vaſſillievitch ſoon after this cauſed the harbour of the Archangel Michael to be made, granted ſeveral privileges to that nation, and at length aroſe from this connection the conſiderable mercantile city of Archangel. The commerce here ſoon increaſed, and in 1655 the commodities exported from it to England

colonies in the two Indies, as well as the wines and the brandies of France and Spain, which they fetch from the ports of thoſe countries, and by which they not only make a conſiderable profit, but gain likewiſe the freight of their ſhips.

The Ruſſians, in exchange, give them corn, furs, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, tallow, deals, and maſts, without which Europe could never fit out thoſe fleets which cover the ſeas, and often tinge them with blood. The Engliſh have moreover eſtabliſhed at Moſco, at Tula, at

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already amounted to 660,000 rubles: from 1697 to 1701 upon a yearly average 112,251l. ſterling, while the imports from England amounted only to 58,884l. ſterling. The revenue of the crown in Archangel amounted annually to about 100,000 rubles, a ſum, which, according to the then value of money, was very conſiderable. The principal articles of export at that time were, potaſhes, caviar, tallow, wax, hides, hemp, feathers, tar, linen-yarn, beef, rhubarb, ſilk, (probably chineſe or perſian,) cork, bacon, cordage, leather, hogs-briſtles, &c. all therefore raw materials. Under Peter I. a great alteration in this commerce enſued: for, when he had built St. Peterſburg, he drew thither the trade from Archangel, which former city thereby became the chief commercial town of the ruſſian empire.

Theſe particulars are partly taken from the memoirs of Favier, and the writings of Buſching and the learned profeſſor Buſch.

Kaſan,

Kaſan, at Aſtrakhan, and in ſome other towns in Ruſſia, mercantile houſes which trade to the ports of the Caſpian, and ſend their commodities into Tartary. In theſe places they have manufactories, in which the wages of the workmen are far lower than in England, and where their factors make ſails, cables, anchors, and hammered or caſt iron as well as copper.

Though entirely paſſive for Ruſſia, this commerce procures her annually a balance of 1,000,000 of rubles in time of peace, and 1,500,000 in time of war. But how great the advantage to England! What immenſe reſources it affords for the ſupport of her navy, and for the perpetual augmentation of her connections in every part of the globe!

The french ambaſſador at * Conſtantinople had inſtigated, almoſt contrary to his own inclination, the court of Peterſburg to act in concert with that of Verſailles. This miniſter had lately been recalled. Vergennes, who was ſenſible of the neceſſity of forming ſome connections with Catharine, procured the appointment of count de Ségur to the embaſſy of Peterſburg †. This young negotiator was peculiarly ſuited to

* M. Saint-Prieſt.

† He arrived there in the month of February 1784.

ſo important a miſſion. To great mental endowments, he added an extenſive erudition, combined politeneſs with dignity, and the art of perſuaſion with frankneſs of character. He could not fail of being agreeable to Catharine, and of gaining the regard of Potemkin, who, with his haughty roughneſs, always knew how to appreciate real merit.

Never any french miniſter, ſince La Chetardie *, had been able to ſucceed at Peterſburg. By his ſervile compliances, Breteuil had favoured the ſchemes of Catharine, who preſently learnt to deſpiſe him. The ſolemn gravity of Beauſſet was tireſome to that princeſs. The inſignificant mediocrity of the marquis de Juigné diſguſted her, and the comte de Vérac could never obtain from her the ſmalleſt degree of confidence, becauſe he ſtammered in ſpeaking to her at his firſt preſentation. The comte de Ségur repaired the miſchiefs occaſioned by his aukward predeceſſors.

The empreſs was deſirous of viſiting the famous canal of Viſhney-Volotſhok, which

* La Chetardie had aſſiſted the empreſs Elizabeth in mounting the throne, which however did not prevent him from running the riſk of being aſſaſſinated, by villains whom the chancellor Beſtucheff had hired to way-lay him on the road, and who fired at his carriage.

unites

unites the Volga with the Ilmen lake, that again with the Ladoga, and conſequently the Caſpian with the Baltic. Prince Potemkin, Yermoloff, count Bezborodko, ſeveral others of the court, the engliſh miniſter, and the ambaſſadors of France and of the empire, accompanied her on this journey.

One day the ambaſſador of France going to talk as uſual with Potemkin, found him more angry than ordinary with the court of London. Dexterouſly taking advantage of this opportunity, Ségur repreſented to Potemkin the benefit that would reſult to Ruſſia from having a commerce direct with France, inſtead of leaving to the Engliſh all the profits * which they draw from both the one and the other of thoſe powers. Prince Potemkin engaged him to commit his obſervations to paper, and promiſed to ſpeak of them to none but her majeſty. The ambaſſador immediately returned to his barge; and finding

* Such nations as have no treaty of commerce with Ruſſia are obliged to pay the duties in dollars. They muſt therefore buy the ruble at 135 to 145 kopeeks the ruble, which is really worth no more than 125 paper money. The nations then that have a treaty gain 12 per cent. on the duties, which, independently of other advantages, is a conſiderable benefit.—The ambaſſador obtained beſides of the court of Ruſſia a diminution on the import duties on french wines.

nobody there excepting count Cobentzel and Mr. Fitzherbert, who were amuſing themſelves at back-gammon, he borrowed the ink-ſtand of the latter. It was therefore with the pen of the engliſh miniſter, that he drew up the plan of a treaty of commerce between France and Ruſſia. This paper being immediately conveyed to Potemkin, was communicated to the empreſs, and obtained her conſent: this done, it was faithfully returned to the ambaſſador, being deſired to preſent it, according to cuſtom, to the vice-chancellor Oſtermann.

On the receipt of this paper, Oſtermann, not knowing that it had already the approbation of the empreſs and Potemkin, and being entirely devoted to the Engliſh, told the ambaſſador that he could not preſume to flatter him with the hopes of ſucceſs. The ambaſſador kept ſilence. The plan, being laid before the council, was immediately approved of by all; and it was in this manner that the treaty of commerce between France and Ruſſia was brought about.

Previous to the ſigning of this treaty, Oſtermann and Bezborodko obſerved that it was expected that France ſhould declare her adheſion to the armed neutrality. A notification of it was given to the ambaſſador, who conſented, provided that the court of Peterſburg would

would promiſe to conclude no treaty with any other power unleſs upon the ſame conditions. This clauſe, inſerted in oppoſition to the intereſts of England, retarded for a long time the renewal of the treaty ſolicited by Mr. Fitzherbert.

The french ambaſſador, at his departure, had mentioned the hope he entertained of concluding a treaty of commerce with Ruſſia. He was haſtily anſwered, that there was no poſſibility of ſuch an event. On his writing to his court that this treaty was on foot, the count de Vergennes diſpatched a courier to inform him that it was no more than an empty lure thrown out to him by the court of Ruſſia, and that he ſurely would bring the dignity of the king into queſtion if he acted upon it. The treaty was already concluded when the courier arrived at St. Peterſburg.

Ere ſhe returned to her reſidence, Catharine made a viſit to Moſco, and was there leſs unfavourably received than ſhe had before been on ſimilar occaſions. Time had almoſt effaced the remembrance of her uſurpation. Among the perſons who appeared at her court was Goudovitch, who was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the extreme ſimplicity of his dreſs, from the crowd of courtiers beſpangled with ſtars, croſſes, and badges of

knighthood. His preſence alone called up the image of Peter III. in every breaſt.

Counteſs Romanovna Vorontzoff had been long recalled from exile, and was married to admiral Palianſky. The empreſs never invited her to court, but ſhe ſent for her daughter and admitted her into the number of the maids of honour; whether from compaſſion to the mother, or from kindneſs to the family of the Vorontzoffs, is uncertain.

The ſpirit of toleration that animated the whole of Catharine's adminiſtration, was a very remarkable and almoſt ſingular phænomenon in a deſpotic government. Notwithſtanding all oppoſition, the empreſs was true to the reſolution ſhe formed at the commencement of her reign; and, from that moment to the day of her death, not one inſtance occurred of a human being ſuffering, in any reſpect whatever, on account of his religious opinions. Not only the conquered provinces were protected in the free exerciſe of their religion, but lutherans, calviniſts, moravian brethren, papiſts, mohammedans, heathens, and people of all countries and perſuaſions, might aſpire to any poſt under government, and hold any civil or military employment or dignity, if they were but worthy,

or

or deemed worthy of it. The intolerant of more poliſhed nations might go to the provinces of Eſthonia, Livonia, Finland, and Ruſſia, to take leſſons of moderation and chriſtian forbearance. But at Peterſburg the general and peculiar feature in the public character is toleration; a virtue which, in ſome ſenſe, has long ſince taken root in the nation at large, but in the reſidence, from the confluence of ſuch numbers of people of various perſuaſions, and the moſt diverſified ſyſtems of faith, of the moſt diſſimilar manners, cuſtoms, opinions, and prejudices, has acquired ſo general and extenſive a ſway, that certainly it is not eaſy to find a ſpot of earth upon the globe, where, in this reſpect, a man may more quietly paſs his days than at St. Peterſburg. It is to be underſtood, moreover, that the word "toleration" is not here confined to that narrow meaning in which it is uſually taken in ſpeaking of an extorted and commanded forbearance in matters of religion, or of the permiſſion for the weaker party to exiſt by a ſtated law. The idea here connected with the term includes a voluntary and univerſally diffuſed forbearance, in every place, and towards every perſon, his manner of thinking and acting. It therefore comprehends not only religious, but alſo political and ſocial toleration, and

is

is remarkable, not as the characteriſtic of the form of government, but as that of the public *.

That religious toleration prevails in Ruſſia appears plainly hence, that the great and extenſive liberties which the tolerated ſects of religion enjoyed under Catharine's protection, no where, either among the populace or the higher claſſes, never even among the clergy, excited the ſmalleſt diſcontent or rivalſhip. Prelates of the greek church lived with the religious teachers of other confeſſions of faith in the moſt friendly and familiar intercourſe, and invited them to their tables and converſe †; ruſſian popes, when not in function themſelves, occaſionally frequented the worſhip of the proteſtants, proſecuted their ſtudies in Holland, England, and Germany,

* Storch, Gemælde von Peterſburg, vol. ii. p. 504.

† The writer of this note recollects with particular pleaſure the agreeable hours he has paſſed at the monaſtery of St. Alexander Nefsky, with that excellent and amiable metropolitan and archimandrite Gabriel archbiſhop of St. Peterſburg and Novgorod, alſo with Plato archbiſhop of Moſco, Eugenius biſhop of Pultava, Shezronchevitch the catholic archbiſhop of Mohilef, Pamphilief her majeſty's confeſſor, and numbers of the parochial clergy. Nor can he ever forget the hoſpitable reception and entertainment he received, on a journey in the depth of winter, from the biſhop of Kargapol, at his monaſtery on the banks of the Svir.

where

where they ſometimes attended theological lectures. One inſtance even occurred of a reſpectable ruſſian clergyman giving his daughter to be educated by a lutheran preacher. Among the laity of the greek ſect of religion, this compatibility naturally proceeds farther. They appear not only as invited witneſſes and ſponſors on ſolemn occaſions, but often, in the churches of the foreigners, readily contribute to the ſupport of their churches and ſchools, put their children to be educated by foreigners, and intermarry with them without heſitation, to whatever communion they may belong. In ſocial intercourſe never was any trace of religious party-ſpirit diſcernible. Converſations in regard to differences in religion were ſeldom heard; debates on ſubjects of that nature, never.

Examples of this amiable virtue would have turned to the diſgrace of foreigners, had they not ſtrove to follow them. But alſo among theſe a mutual toleration and indulgence prevailed, ſuch as is but rarely ſeen even in the moſt enlightened countries. Clergymen of all religions lived in the greateſt harmony, for the moſt part on an intimate footing. For ſeveral years the reformed and lutheran preachers held weekly meetings, in order to confer on matters of religion and the exerciſe of their duties, and

to keep up their union by familiar converſe *. This laudable circle was alſo viſited at times by ſome of the catholic and ruſſian clergy. Not many years ago, when the place of preacher to the german reformed congregation was vacant, the librarian of the academy of ſciences †, who was a lutheran and not in orders, for a long time delivered diſcourſes from their pulpit; and the engliſh chaplain, on ſimilar occaſions, has often exhorted the french calviniſt congregation on the great feſtivals of the church ‡. It was not unuſual for lutheran preachers to adminiſter the communion to the reformed, and preachers of the latter perſuaſion have delivered funeral ſermons in lutheran churches. Nay, it once happened that a lutheran preacher was ſponſor to a catholic child; as he might eaſily, ſince the catholic prieſt omitted thoſe queſtions to which the other, according to the ſyſtem of his church, could not anſwer in the affirmative. Foreigners of all ſects of religion contracted marriages

* Alternately at each other's houſe. They conſiſted of Mr. Martin Luther Wolff, M. Lampe, M. Grott, M. Reinbott, M. Krokius, M. Reynhold, and the engliſh chaplain.

† M. Buſſe, editor of the Peterburgiſche Journal, and other works.

‡ Properly ſpeaking, it was on the day after theſe feſtivals; otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible.

with

with each other and with Ruſſians, without attracting the ſlighteſt remark. For his religious opinions, in ſhort, however extraordinary, no man had any thing to apprehend from the government or his equals, if he did not attempt to force them upon others, or ſeek to make proſelytes. A great part of the foreigners even lived without profeſſing themſelves of any eccleſiaſtical connection; but no one ever ſet himſelf up as an inquiſitor into the faith of theſe independents, and none troubled themſelves about them.

The empreſs, not ſatisfied with having appointed a catholic archbiſhop, and eſtabliſhed a ſeminary of jeſuits at Mohilef, and with having ſupported iſlamiſm in the Krimea, ſhe gave to her people almoſt every year ſome ſolemn inſtance of the protection ſhe granted to the liberty of worſhip. On the day of the benediction of the waters *, her confeſſor, by her orders, invited to his houſe the eccleſiaſtics of all communions, and gave them a grand entertainment, which Catharine called the Dinner of Toleration. Accordingly this year, at the ſame table were ſeated, the patriarch of Gruſinia or Georgia, the archimandrite of St. Peterſburg, the biſhop of Polotſk, the biſhop of Pſcove,

* The 6th of January. It was continued for ſeveral years.

a catholic

a catholic biſhop, a prior of the ſame religion, franciſcans, jeſuits, an armenian prieſt, lutheran preachers, calviniſts, and the engliſh clergyman: in ſhort, here were prieſts of no leſs than eight different forms of worſhip. It has been calculated, that the offices of religion are performed in Peterſburg in fourteen different languages.

Ever ſince the commencement of her reign, Catharine had laboured with unremitted aſſiduity in diffuſing inſtruction among her people. She had already, as we have ſeen, founded houſes of education in ſeveral towns. She now took up the reſolution of eſtabliſhing them in like manner in various parts of the country. To this end a commiſſion of public inſtruction was erected, at the head of which was placed her former favourite Zavodoffsky, who, without reſuming his office in that capacity, was however taken again into diſtinguiſhed notice, and had been appointed ſecretary of the cabinet, and governor of the Lombard, or loan bank.

This being an eſtabliſhment of ſo ſingular a nature, deſerves a little further mention. The empreſs, reverſing the uſual order of things, inſtead of borrowing money from her ſubjects, now became the great money-lender of the empire. Upon this principle ſhe opened a bank, the capital of which conſiſted of 33 millions of rubles; and

was empowered to emit bills, with the currency of money, to the amount of 100 millions more; (which, at the loweſt evaluation of the ruble at that time, amounted to 20 millions ſterling;) but it was particularly reſtricted from ever exceeding this prodigious emiſſion of paper. Of the capital fund, 22 millions were to be lent to the nobility for the term of 20 years, upon mortgages on their eſtates, at an intereſt of five *per cent.* beſides a payment of three *per cent.* which was to be applied annually towards the diſcharge of the original debt. The mortgages were not to include the whole eſtate; but ſuch a number of villages, with the peaſants appertaining to them, as ſhould appear to the directors a ſufficient ſecurity; the male peaſants to be eſtimated at 40 rubles per head, the females at 30, well-grown boys and girls at 12. The mortgaged eſtates were not ſubject to confiſcation; but heavy pecuniary mulcts were to ariſe upon any delay in paying either the five *per cent.* intereſt, or the three *per cent.* which is allotted to the diſcharge of the principal; and if theſe mulcts be not ſufficient to remedy the contumacy or neglect, the directors were to take the adminiſtration of the eſtate into their own hands. Four periods were ſtated in the courſe of the term, at any

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any of which the borrower might redeem his eſtate by paying off the reſt of the debt.

The remaining 11 millions of the capital were deſtined to the encouragement both of foreign commerce and of the internal trade of the empire, by being lent out to merchants and retail dealers for the term of 22 years, at only four *per cent.* intereſt, with the ſame annual application of three *per cent.* towards the diſcharge of the principal. The bank was likewiſe to act as an inſurance-office with reſpect to fire; but the houſes muſt be built of brick or ſtone; and all foreigners as well as natives were admitted to the privilege of depoſiting their money in it, and of having her majeſty's imperial word pledged to them as a ſecurity.

In the commiſſion for the normal ſchools, after Zavodoffsky came the learned Epinus* and Paſtukoff†, private ſecretary to the empreſs. The other members of the commiſſion were perſons of no conſequence, admitted through Zavodoffsky's intereſt.

* Epinus had been preceptor to Paul Petrovitch. He is a man not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his virtues than by his extenſive erudition. He has publiſhed ſeveral pieces on the mathematics, and a theory of the loadſtone, much eſteemed.

† Paſtukoff was likewiſe employed in the education of the grand duke Paul.

The

The commiſſion was much divided in opinion touching the manner of inſtituting the normal ſchools, ſo as to fulfil the intentions of the empreſs. Epinus, who was apprehenſive leſt obſtinacy and ignorance ſhould prevent the execution of the project, adviſed the adoption of the auſtrian method; and after much reſiſtance, his opinion was agreed to. He was undoubtedly aware of the defects in the auſtrian practice; but he thought it better to erect imperfect ſeminaries, ſuſceptible of progreſſive correction, tha nto have none of any kind.

The empreſs then propoſed a variety of queſtions to Joſeph II. concerning the normal ſchools of Auſtria: in conſequence of which the emperor ſent Yankovitch to her, as a man qualified to impart to her the information ſhe required. Yankovitch, an old country ſchoolmaſter, deſtitute of all talents, was no ſooner arrived at Peterſburg, than he was decorated with the title of counſellor of ſtate, appointed director of the normal ſchools, and aſſeſſor to the commiſſion of public inſtruction. He became, at the ſame time, the flatterer of Zavodoffsky and the antagoniſt of Epinus.

The importance attached by the empreſs to her commiſſion of public inſtruction was ſuch, that ſhe was perpetually employed in ſending

notes to them, communicative of her ideas for the bringing to due perfection of theſe normal ſchools. Moreover, ſhe attended them herſelf, while the leſſons were performing.

A learned German *, member of the academy of ſciences, conſented to be profeſſor of geography and hiſtory in the ruſſian language: a very fortunate circumſtance; as no Ruſſian would have been capable of it. Catharine, being preſent one day, with ſeveral of her courtiers, at a lecture which the academician was delivering on the ſeveral tribes that inhabit Siberia, after liſtening to him with fixed attention, ſhe beſtowed great commendation on him both for his knowledge and his zeal. She afterwards propoſed an objection to ſome of his obſervations; to which he replied in the moſt ſatisfactory manner. Zavodoffsky and ſome others, unaccuſtomed to ſee a literary man utter an opinion contradictory to that of the ſovereign, ſeemed to take fire at this great inſtance of preſumption; but the empreſs was eager to acknowledge that ſhe had been led into a miſtake; and returned thanks to the academician for having rectified it with ſo much ability. Obſerving, at the ſame time, the diſpleaſure of Zavodoffsky,

* A native of Hanover, who compoſed the only accurate work on the geography of Ruſſia that ever appeared.

ſhe

ſhe embraced the opportunity offered her by the moment of his attending her to the carriage, to order him to repeat her thanks to the profeſſor. This, however, did not prevent the preſident of the board of inſtruction from puniſhing this worthy man for his courage, by turning him out of his place, and even out of his lodgings. Theſe particulars may perhaps appear of little conſequence; but every thing that tends to the exhibition of perſonal character is always fit matter for biography.

1786. Yermoloff had arrived at the pinnacle of favour; and he was thruſt from it by his own imprudence. This favourite, tall, fair-complectioned, and of a figure declarative of a ſoul that could not be rouzed from apathy, was jealous to an extreme. He preſently behaved ungratefully to prince Potemkin, to whom he owed his fortune. He eagerly laid hold of every opportunity that offered to injure him; and it was only in oppoſition to him that he defended the unhappy khan Sahim-Gueray, the payment of whoſe penſion was cruelly neglected. The empreſs, who became every day more indulgent to her lovers, ſhewed ſome coolneſs to Potemkin, and even to the ambaſſador of France, whoſe intereſt at court gave equal offence to Yermoloff.

Bezborodko, Alexander Vorontzoff, and ſome others of the court, contributed, by their inſtigations, to exaſperate the favourite. Yermoloff had an uncle, named Levaſheff, whom Potemkin had diſmiſſed from the ſervice with diſgrace, in conſequence of a quarrel at play *, in which this Levaſheff had the wrong ſide of the queſtion. Yermoloff complained of it to

* Potemkin played enormouſly high, but always generouſly.—Being at Mohilef, where this brutal Paſſick was commandant, and who had been raiſed to a general's rank, in reward for the part he had taken in the dethronement of Peter III. he pointed at pharao; Paſſick, who cut, had the effrontery to try to ſlip away a card. Potemkin perceived it, took him by the collar, and gave him about 20 cuffs in the face; after which he ſet out for Peterſburg. All that were preſent at this ſcene looked upon Paſſick as a loſt man. But having a daughter who was maid of honour to the empreſs, and who moreover was very handſome, ſhe eaſily obtained the delinquent's pardon. Potemkin was often hurried away by his paſſions. He once ſtruck prince Vaſſili D. under pretence that this prince took the part of general Kretſchetnikoff; but the real cauſe of his anger was, that, being fond of the princeſs D. ſhe had reſiſted his importunities. He alſo ſtruck prince Volkonſky, becauſe, while at table, that prince clapped his hands at ſome witticiſm from this deſpotic favourite. Prince Potemkin roſe up, took him by the collar, gave him ſeveral blows with his fiſt, ſaying, "What! you applaud me as if I were "a buffoon!" Then, turning to the auſtrian general Jordis, who was alſo at table: "There, general," ſaid he, "that is the way to treat this ſort of ſcoundrels."

the

the empreſs. Potemkin being reproved by her majeſty, felt himſelf ſo hurt by it, that he haughtily ſaid to her:—"Madam, there is but "one alternative, you muſt either diſmiſs Yer- "moloff or me: for, ſo long as you keep that "white negro *, I ſhall not ſet my foot within "the palace."—The ſame day Yermoloff received orders to travel. Momonoff ſucceeded him.

Theſe intrigues were ſcarcely heard of beyond the precincts of the court: and Catharine's love of glory was univerſally known.

During his travels into the inner parts of Ruſſia, the learned profeſſor Pallas had collected a great number of natural curioſities, and by this means had formed a valuable cabinet. The empreſs purchaſed it of him at a very round price; as ſhe had alſo ſome years before purchaſed the library of d'Alembert and that of Voltaire†.

Several

* Potemkin called Yermoloff by that name, becauſe he was ſo extremely fair.

† Voltaire had not long been dead when Catharine commiſſioned her correſpondent at Paris to buy for her the library of the author of "Mahomet." Madame Denis, who had inherited that library, told the correſpondent that ſhe would not ſell it, but that ſhe would willingly make her homage of it to the empreſs. Upon this her majeſty wrote her the following letter:

Several travellers had at various times, by her orders, traverſed the northern Archipelago, and the

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" Peterſburg, Aug. 15, 1778.

" I juſt now learn, madam, that you conſent to make a " ſurrender to me of that precious depoſit left you by " your late uncle, that library which ſouls of ſenſibility " will never behold without recollecting that this great man " had the art of inſpiring mankind with that univerſal " benevolence, which all his writings breathe, even thoſe " of mere entertainment, becauſe his ſoul was deeply pene- " trated with it. No man before him ever wrote like him: " to future generations he will be both an example and " a rock. To equal him, genius and philoſophy muſt " unite in one perſon with literature and entertainment; in " a word, he muſt be M. de Voltaire. If, with all Europe " I have taken part in your grief, madam, for the loſs of " that incomparable man, you have entitled yourſelf to " participate in the grateful returns I owe to his writings. " I am, indeed, extremely ſenſible to the eſteem and the " confidence which you ſhew me. It is highly flattering " to me to ſee that they are hereditary in your family. The " generoſity of your behaviour is your ſecurity for my " favourable ſentiments in regard to you. I have written " to Monſieur de Grimm * to deliver to you ſome incon- " ſiderable teſtimonies of it, which I deſire you to accept,

" CATHARINE."

Her majeſty had written on the cover:—" For madame " Denis, niece of a great man who loved me much."

* M. Grimm was at Paris the literary correſpondent of the empreſs.

At

the remoteſt of the ruſſian provinces. In the year 1785 ſhe ſent again ſeveral learned perſons, ſome towards Caucaſus, others to the frontiers of China, for the purpoſe of diſcovering, exploring, and examining, the moſt remote provinces, and the yet unknown parts of that immenſe empire. The difficulties and perils to which this expedition by land was ſuppoſed liable, through the trackleſs deſarts which were to be explored, the inhoſpitality of the climates, and the barbarity of the nations that were to be encountered, with the numberleſs obſtacles of various ſorts that were to be ſurmounted, rendered the proſpect much more terrible than it had appeared to our circumnavigators in any of their late great voyages of diſcovery. The boldeſt and moſt enterpriſing perſons of all nations were accordingly ſought out for this undertaking, and high rewards and promiſes held out as an encouragement to their zeal and perſeverance. Baron de Valchen Stedtz, who had a regiment of cavalry in the empreſs's ſervice, was appointed

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At the concluſion of this letter, the empreſs requeſted of madame Denis a plan in relief of the façade and of the interior diſtribution of the château de Ferney, as well as the gardens and its avenues, as ſhe purpoſed to have a building exactly like it in the grounds adjacent to Tzarſkoſelo.

commander in chief upon this expedition. His corps conſiſted of 810 choſen men, who were led on by 107 officers of different degrees of diſtinction, and accompanied by pioneers, artillery-men, handicraftſmen, draughtſmen, engineers, an hiſtoriographer, and naturaliſts. It need ſcarcely be obſerved, that they were amply provided with all manner of neceſſaries, and that they were furniſhed with credentials ſuited to every circumſtance and ſituation. It was ſuppoſed that the expedition could not be completed within three years.

The only fruit of their diſcoveries which came to the knowledge of the public was that of a ſmall fugitive colony of ſtrangers and chriſtians, whom they found ſhut up from the world in a moſt ſequeſtered part of the wilds of Caucaſus; and who, in the language of the country, are called Tſchetſhes. Theſe poor people are ſaid to lead lives of the moſt exemplary piety, and to exhibit a primæval ſimplicity of manners. They are totally ignorant of their origin, any farther than knowing that they are ſtrangers, as which they are likewiſe conſidered by the ſcattered neighbouring nations. From an affinity in their language, and ſome other circumſtances, they are ſuppoſed to be deſcended from a colony of Bohemians, who flying from the religious perſe-

perſecutions in their own country towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century, found at length a refuge from oppreſſion, in the diſtance from the reſt of mankind which theſe remote deſarts afforded.

Not ſatisfied with the diſcoveries which this expedition by land might produce, the empreſs formed another by ſea about the ſame time, in order to extend and aſcertain thoſe which, within the preſent century, have been unſucceſsfully attempted or imperfectly made by different ruſſian navigators. Lieutenant-colonel Blaumeyer was appointed to conduct this expedition, and commiſſioned to take along with him, beſides able navigators, a number of perſons ſkilled in various arts, to aſſiſt in making proper inquiries, and in turning to the greateſt advantage ſuch diſcoveries as they might make, or were already made. They were to embark at the mouth of the river Anadyr, and to proſecute with greater accuracy and ſtricter obſervation thoſe diſcoveries which had been made by former navigators, of ſeveral inhabited iſlands lying about the 64th degree of latitude, in ſituations advantageous for trade. They were then to double Tchoukoſkoï-noſs, and entering the ſtraits which ſeparate Siberia from America, to purſue their voyage at leaſt to the 74th degree of latitude; but if they found the ſeas

practicable to proceed as much farther as circumſtances would permit.

It is a ſingular circumſtance, at leaſt in the modern hiſtory of the old world, for a prince to be under the neceſſity of undertaking great expeditions by ſea and land, in order to diſcover new countries within his own dominions. Such is the vaſtneſs of that unbounded empire!

But the great work, which, if ever it be completed, will be a laſting monument to the glory of Catharine, is the navigable canal in the province of Tver, which, by opening a communication between the river Tvertza and the Miſta, the former of which falls directly into the Volga, and the latter, by the great lakes, opens the paſſage to the Neva, will not only eſtabliſh an inland navigation through all the vaſt countries that lie between the ſhores of the Caſpian and the Baltic, but will actually unite theſe diſtant ſeas; an union unexampled in the hiſtory of mankind.

Theſe enterpriſes have by ſome been attributed rather to a vain deſire in Catharine of cauſing her name to be reſounded throughout Europe, than from a real love of the ſciences. In confirmation of which it has been obſerved, that in the latter caſe care would have been taken to publiſh to the world whatever theſe travellers

travellers had diſcovered, either without or within her extenſive dominions. But, though their departure was always emphatically announced, their return was only attended by a clandeſtine light.

In 1784 Mr. Pallas conceived the plan of a new expedition to the northern Archipelago, and drew up inſtructions for the navigator who was to be employed in it. This navigator was Billings, the Engliſhman, who had been aſſiſtant-aſtronomer to the juſtly celebrated captain Cook, in his voyages round the world. He firſt proceeded to the river Kovima, where he cauſed a veſſel to be built, for the purpoſe of doubling Tchouktſkoï-noſs, but in this attempt he was not able to ſucceed.

The year following Billings ſailed about the iſlands of the eaſtern ocean, departing from Okhotzk and the bay of Avatſha as far as the coaſts of Japan. He even conſtructed the charts of his voyage; but the diſcoveries which he made are not of much importance. He, however, collected ſeveral curioſities, and brought to Peterſburg a native of Unalaſhka, and a woman whom the inhabitants of that iſland had carried off from the ſhores of America, and who related that ſhe came from a part of the continent very remote from that coaſt.

Being

Being returned to Peterſburg, Billings began to put into order, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Pallas, the journal of his voyage *. But it is much to be feared that the work will break off in the middle, and like thoſe we ſpoke of before, be loſt to the public †.

The empreſs, deſirous of augmenting the population of Kerſon, and her newly acquired provinces of Taurida and Caucaſus, publiſhed a manifeſto inviting foreigners to come and ſettle in thoſe countries. We ſhall here inſert a few fragments from it.

" The protection which we habitually grant " to ſtrangers who come either to carry on their

* John Ledyard, the American, if he had not been ſtopped on his journey, was the man who would doubtleſs have given us much excellent information; having about 16 years ago formed the deſign of travelling on foot to the Tſchouktſchis, of croſſing Behring's ſtraits with ſome of them, and thence proceeding to the engliſh ſettlements at Hudſon's bay. He undertook this extraordinary journey alone and unarmed. He was arreſted at Yakutſk, under pretence of his being a ſpy, and conveyed away to the frontiers of Pruſſia, whence he returned to England. This intrepid pedeſtrian, went afterwards to Ægypt in the deſign of traverſing all Africa on foot: but death put a ſtop to his noble undertaking at Grand Cairo.

† The truth of the matter is, that it contained little or nothing worth communicating to the public.

" com-

" commerce, or to exert their induſtry in our " empire, is generally known. Every one may " enjoy in our dominions the free exerciſe of the " religion of his fathers, a perfect ſecurity, and " the protection of the laws and government. " All the neceſſaries and the accommodations of " life, as well as the means of acquiring riches, " there offer themſelves, both from the fertility " of the ſoil and the objects adapted to com- " merce. The territory of Caucaſus, in ſub- " miſſion to our ſceptre, affords all theſe reſources " in greater abundance than the other provinces " of our empire. Foreigners who are willing " to ſettle there, whether in the towns, or in the " country, will be ſure to find a peaceful aſylum " with many advantages.....They ſhall be, " during ſix years exempt from all duties to the " crown. If, at the expiration of that term " they ſhall ſignify their intention to leave our " dominions, they ſhall be at full liberty to go, " on paying only the value of the impoſts of " three years *."

By another manifeſto which appeared within a few months after the former, the empreſs declared to all the inhabitants of Ruſſia and

* This manifeſto bears date from Tzarſko-ſelo, the 14th of July 1785.

Tartary,

Tartary, that it was no longer required of them in addreſſes to her, to call themſelves her *ſlaves*, but only her *ſubjects* *. That princeſs was not ignorant of the means of rendering herſelf popular, and ſhe often employed them with art. One of thoſe which ſerved greatly to render her ſo, was the care ſhe took of children. Whether from inclination or from policy, ſhe had always a great number of them in her apartments. There they enjoyed the ſame liberty with the princes her grandchildren; and ſhe returned their careſſes with extreme complaiſance.

The ſame ſtyle of outward magnificence, with the ſame munificent ſpirit in the diſpoſal of bounties or rewards, which had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the court of Peterſburg through the reign of Catharine, ſtill continued to be its principal characteriſtics. Every thing that comes within theſe deſcriptions was done in the higheſt ſtyle of grandeur, and ſeemed not only ſuited to the preſent greatneſs, but to the riſing hope and fortune of that empire. Indeed the empreſs proceeded upon ſo large a ſcale in theſe matters, that it ſeemed rather to be graduated by an

* Letters, memorials, and petitions, with eraſures in them might be preſented to her without danger of her taking offence. She never imagined that there was any intention therein of inſulting her dignity.

aſiatic

aſiatic than an european model. It is not often ſeen, at leaſt in the weſtern world, that a great military power, whoſe ambition and armaments ſpread apprehenſion or terror all round, and which ſeemed almoſt conſtantly looking for war, ſhould at the ſame time exceed all others in the ſplendid eſtabliſhments of peace and luxury.

The empreſs had publicly announced, in the beginning of the year of which we are treating, her intention of making a magnificent progreſs to Kerſon and the Krimea, in order to her being crowned ſovereign of the new conqueſts. This deſign was apparently conceived at firſt in the moſt ſplendid ideas of eaſtern magnificence and grandeur. It was given out, that Catharine was to be crowned queen of Taurida, and to be declared protectreſs of all the nations of Tartars. That, in order to render the ſolemnization of this great act the more auguſt, awful, and more extenſively ſtriking, ſhe was to be attended by the metropolitan, by ſix other archbiſhops, and by a great body of the clergy; which with the court and its attendants, would have formed a prodigious train. Triumphal arches were to be erected, and enriched with ſculptures, devices, and inſcriptions, on the approaches to Kerſon, and in the town. The empreſs was to be drawn on the latter part of the way in a triumphal car,

with

with a wreath of laurel on her head; and the concourſe of people was expected to be ſo great, that the multitudes which attend the pilgrimages to Mecca would no longer be regarded as a wonder. She was beſides to be eſcorted by a formidable army, to conſiſt of no leſs than ſix regiments of cavalry, and 22 of infantry. The magnificence of the proceſſion, whether by land or by water, was to be ſuited to that of the grand concluding ceremonial. A fleet of gallies were built on the Dniepr; and beſides their embelliſhments and decorations, were to be furniſhed with all the accommodations neceſſary for a court, or uſually found in a great city. It ſeemed as if coſt was a matter not to be thought of in theſe preparations; and it is ſcarcely credible, though poſitively aſſerted, that the prodigious ſum of 7,000,000 of rubles * had been originally dedicated to the purpoſe only of thoſe preſents which were to be diſtributed at the coronation.

The ſame allowance is probably to be made for vanity and exaggeration in ſome of theſe accounts, which is uſually neceſſary in ſimilar caſes: but it is certain, however, that every thing that could be conceived ſplendid or grand,

* Amounting to about 1,500,000l. ſterling.

was

was included in the original deſign, and the uſual magnificence of the empreſs ſeems to give a ſanction to the whole. It is likewiſe to be remembered, that there was a grand political object in view in this ſplendour and expence; that it was undoubtedly expected that all the adjoining nations would have been either terrified by the power, or faſcinated by the pomp, ſplendour and wealth, which were now to be diſplayed; and that the tartar chiefs, under theſe impreſſions, would not only have rendered the ſcene truly glorious, by coming from all parts to do homage to the new monarch of the eaſt, but that ſhe would thereby have enlarged and ſecured her dominion without the trouble of war and conqueſt.

CHAP. XIII.

Catharine II. takes a journey to the Krimea.—Aſſaſſination of khan Sahim-Gueray.—The Turks declare war againſt Ruſſia.—Guſtavus III. invades Finland.—Sea-fight between the Swedes and the Ruſſians.—Bentzelſtierna makes an attempt to burn the ruſſian fleet at Copenhagen.—Capture of Otchakoff.—Peace of Varela.—Victories obtained over the Turks.—Capture of Iſmail.—Diſmiſſion of Momonoff.—Elevation of Zuboff.—The court of Great Britain ſends Mr. Fawkener to Peterſburg.—Peace of Yaſſi.—Death of prince Potemkin.—1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792.

THE grand political object which Catharine had in view in this intended diſplay of magnificence and power, was, after having ſolemnly taken the ſceptre of the Krim, and awed the ſurrounding nations into ſubmiſſion, to conduct her grandſon Conſtantine * to the gates of that Oriental

* At his birth he was put into the hands of greek nurſes fetched on purpoſe from the iſle of Naxos. He was always dreſſed in the faſhion of the Greeks, and ſurrounded by

Oriental Empire to which ſhe had deſtined him from his birth. All was in movement for completing the preparations, when the young prince fell ſick of the meaſles, and he was obliged to be left at Peterſburg. This circumſtance, together with the news of ſome ſkirmiſhes, and even more ſerious engagements that had happened in the Krim between the Ruſſians and the Tartars, occaſioned a great alteration in the ſcheme of the progreſs to Kerſon. It was now greatly narrowed in the deſign, was diſincumbered of much of its intended ſuperb magnificence; the great object of the coronation, and of the aſſumption of new titles was entirely given up; the formidable military force that was expected did not attend; the proceſſion did not take place at the time propoſed; and the only end obtained, ſaving the conferences held with the king of Poland and the emperor, was nothing more than the empreſs's ſhewing herſelf to the new ſubjects, and appearing to take ſome ſort of formal poſſeſſion of Kerſon and the Krimea.

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by children of that nation, that he might acquire the greek language, and which he ſpoke with great facility. It was even in regard to him that the grecian cadet-corps of 200 cadets was eſtabliſhed. See before, vol. iii. p. 79.

The Georgians, Leſghis, and other Tartars that inhabit theſe unmeaſured, and almoſt unknown regions, and who ſeem ſcarcely to know any particular owner, as ſoon as the report of the intended grand progreſs was ſpread amongſt them, inſtead of producing the expected effect, in dazzling or terrifying theſe Tartars, it ſerved, on the contrary, as a ſignal of general and immediate danger, to cement their union in the ſtrongeſt manner, and to urge them to the greateſt poſſible exertion, and to the moſt determined reſiſtance. This ſoon became apparent; and the war of the Krimea daily became more ſerious.

The empreſs ſet out*, accompanied by her ladies of honour, by the favourite Momonoff, the grand-ecuyer Nariſhkin, count Ivan Chernicheff, the two counts Shuvaloff, and ſeveral more of the courtiers, with the ambaſſadors of Auſtria and France, and the engliſh envoy. The ſledges travelled night and day. A great number of horſes had been previouſly collected at every ſtation; great fires were lighted at the diſtance of every 30 fathom, and an immenſe crowd of perſons attracted by curioſity ſkirted the road.

* The 18th of January 1787.

On

On the ſixth day the empreſs arrived at Smolenſk. Fifteen days after ſhe made her entry into Kieff, where the princes Sapieha and Lubomirſky, the Potockis, the Branitſkies, and moſt of the other nobles of Poland who were devoted to Ruſſia, had repaired to meet the ſovereign.

Prince Potemkin had gone on before. He joined her at Kieff, as well as prince Naſſau-Siegen; who, for ſome time paſt, had been engaged in the ruſſian ſervice. Marſhal Romantzoff was there alſo. Already hurt at the arrogance of Potemkin *, he had, during his ſtay at Kieff, additional cauſes of complaint, and his diſcontent became viſible. But, whatever value the empreſs ſet upon the brilliant ſervices of the vanquiſher of the Ottomans, the favour of Potemkin was undiminiſhed.

Fifty magnificent gallies had been diſpoſed on the Dniepr for the reception of the empreſs. Her majeſty, at the beginning of the ſpring, went to Krementchuk, and embarked † there attended by a numerous ſuite.

* Marſhal Romantzoff was general-in-chief of the cavalry, and during the ſpace of 14 years there was no promotion in that corps; becauſe prince Potemkin had a diſlike to the marſhal.

† The 6th of May 1787.

The next day the fleet caſt anchor over againſt Kanieff. The king of Poland, who had come thither under his old name of count Poniatoffsky, repaired immediately on board the empreſs's galley. The two ſovereigns had not ſeen each other for the ſpace of three and twenty years *. On their firſt meeting, Catharine ſeemed rather affected: but Staniſlaus Auguſtus preſerved his entire preſence of mind, and diſcourſed with great compoſure. Soon after this they remained alone in the apartment belonging to the empreſs, and had a private conference which laſted ſomewhat more than half an hour. After which, they went over to another galley, where they dined together. Catharine decorated her former lover with the ribbon of the order of St. Andrew.

Prince Potemkin, who had never ſeen the poliſh monarch, ſeemed quite enchanted at now meeting him. It was perhaps to the impreſſion which it made on him, that Staniſlaus Auguſtus has to aſcribe the preſervation of his crown for ſome years longer than he otherwiſe would. However this be, he retired that evening highly ſatisfied to all appearance at the reception he had met with, and the fleet continued its courſe.

* It was ſaid that a private interview between them took place at Riga in 1764.

At Krementſhuk the empreſs was lodged in a houſe ſuperbly ornamented. There ſhe found an army of 12,000 men in new uniforms, who preſented before her a ſham-fight by manœuvring in four columns, with a ſquare battalion of Koſaks *.

The paſſage by water was ſtill more agreeable. The ſhores of the Dniepr were covered with villages conſtructed for the occaſion, with peaſants elegantly dreſſed tending numerous flocks, who came by croſs-roads to different places on the coaſt, which the fleet was to paſs, and were thus inceſſantly re-produced before the eyes of the voyagers. The beauty of the ſeaſon even added to the magical effects of the ſpectacle preſented to the empreſs, and all together converted this almoſt deſart region into a delightful country.

Joſeph II. † had arrived at Kerſon ſome time before the empreſs. He ſet out to meet her, and joined her majeſty at Kaïdak; where ſhe immediately landed, and proceeded by land to

* It was on that occaſion that the empreſs, who was granting favours to every body, and of whom every body was preſſing to aſk them, ſaid to Suvaroff:—"And you, "general, do you want nothing?" "Only that you "would order my lodgings to be paid, madam," anſwered Suvaroff. His lodgings coſt two rubles a month.

† Under the title of count Falkenſtein.

Kerſon, to which place the emperor returned with her.

Kerſon was already an opulent city; having a harbour full of veſſels, and dock-yards well ſupplied. A 66-gun man of war was launched in preſence of the empreſs, and a frigate of 40 guns. As her majeſty was going through the ſeveral parts of the town, ſhe read upon a gate, on the ſide to the eaſt, a greek inſcription of this import:—"BY THIS THE WAY LEADS TO "BYZANTIUM."

There was at that time a great number of foreigners: Greeks, Tartars, French *, Spaniards, Engliſh, Poles; ſome drawn thither by curioſity; others by the deſire of paying homage to the empreſs. Prince Potemkin preſented to her Miranda †, who, being obliged to fly his native country, ſought an aſylum among the Ruſſians, and is ſince become a general in the ſervice of the French.

* Among the French were Edward Dillon and Alexander Lameth.

† Miranda, a fugitive from the Havannah, had gone to New York and into Canada; from North America he went to Conſtantinople and to Kerſon. Being afterwards at Peterſburg, he was demanded by the chargé des affaires of Spain. But the empreſs refuſed to give him up; and when he quitted Ruſſia, ſhe recommended him to her miniſters at foreign courts.

Among

Among the women who had reſorted to the court of Catharine, was a grecian lady already famous *, whoſe charms had touched the heart of prince Potemkin, and ſeemed likely to ſnatch him away from the crowd of beauties who were contending for his favours.

Long before her departure from Peterſburg, the empreſs had ſent major Sergius to Conſtantinople, for the purpoſe of acquainting the divan that ſhe deſigned to come into the Krimea. The divan ſhewed ſymptoms of uneaſineſs at it: they almoſt conſidered this journey as an aggreſſion. They took meaſures to repel it; and while the empreſs was at Kerſon, four turkiſh ſhips of the line came and anchored at the mouth of the Boryſthenes. Theſe ſhips were neither inclined, nor, had they been ſo, were they able to make any ſucceſsful attempt; but the very ſight of

* She was called madame de Witt. From his partiality for her, prince Potemkin gave the government of Kerſon to her huſband. This did not prevent madame de Witt from committing ſome infidelities to prince Potemkin. Under pretence of going to ſee her mother, who was a poor tradeſwoman at the ſeraglio, ſhe went to Conſtantinople with the counteſs de Mniſcheck. Choiſeul-Gouffier gave her lodgings in the hotel de France. After the death of Potemkin, madame de Witt followed the fortune of Felix Potocky; and, at the ſollicitation of the counteſs Potocky, the empreſs cauſed her to be ſhut up in a convent.

them cauſed diſturbance to Catharine. She beheld them with ſcorn, and could not turn away her eyes from them.—" Do you ſee?" ſaid ſhe to her courtiers, " one would ſuppoſe that the " Turks had no recollection of Tſcheſmé!"

Joſeph II. received at Kerſon the firſt news of the rebellion that had broke out in Brabant. Some perſons exhorted him to repair immediately to Bruſſels, and to act with great moderation, as the beſt means of appeaſing an irritated people. That prince made no diſcovery of the meaſures he intended to purſue, nor did he take the road to his dominions. On the contrary, he followed the empreſs, who ſet out on a journey to viſit the inner parts of the Krimea.

The empreſs was received in that peninſula by the principal myrzas, whoſe troops made various evolutions in her preſence. All at once the carriages were ſurrounded by a thouſand Tartars, forming themſelves into an eſcort. Joſeph II. who had not been appriſed of what was to happen, expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs; but the empreſs preſerved her uſual tranquillity. Theſe Tartars had been placed there by prince Potemkin. They had certainly no ſiniſter deſign; and if they had, they would never have dared to put it in execution; being well aware,

that

that Potemkin had, not far from the place, an army of 153,000 men.

Catharine made her entry with great pomp into Bachtſchiſarai, and lodged, together with her ſuite, in the palace of the khan. In the evening ſhe was entertained with the ſpectacle of a mountain artificially illuminated, in ſuch a manner as to ſeem as if all on fire. Wherever ſhe went, every exertion was made to preſent her with ſome agreeable object; and ſhe employed every means in gaining the affections of the people. She allotted funds for building two moſques. She diſtributed conſiderable preſents among the myrzas. The myrzas teſtified the moſt ardent devotion towards her; and ſix weeks afterwards they declared in behalf of the Turks.

On her way back, the empreſs was conducted to Pultava. On her reaching that place, two armies appeared. They approached; they engaged; and gave Catharine an exact repre-preſentation of the famous battle in which Charles XII. was completely routed by Peter the great.

This ſpectacle was worthy of prince Potemkin, and of the two ſovereigns to whom he gave it. Joſeph II. on whom the very name of a warrior made a lively impreſſion, could not refrain from deploring

deploring the misfortune of the ſwediſh monarch; he was nevertheleſs extremely delighted with all that was done both by Potemkin and the empreſs. He was ſo captivated by the behaviour of Catharine, that he expreſſed his inclination to aſſiſt her in cauſing her grandſon to be crowned at Conſtantinople.

Joſeph II. however, could not help teſtifying his ſurpriſe at the extraordinary complaiſance the empreſs ſhewed to Momonoff. The favourite at times would ſtrangely exhibit his influence; and his vanity ſeemed to be flattered in being able to give illuſtrious witneſſes to his puerile triumphs *.

At Moſco Joſeph II. took leave of the empreſs; and, rapidly croſſing Poland, returned to his dominions, while that princeſs purſued the road to Peterſburg †.

* It is the cuſtom in Ruſſia, when playing at whiſt, inſtead of markers, to uſe pieces of chalk in a little caſe of ſilver or ivory, with which the amount of the game is ſcored in figures on the green cloth. Momonoff was every day of the empreſs's party: and, having ſome knowledge of drawing, he ſometimes took the chalk, and amuſed himſelf with making caricatures on the table, while the ſovereign, with the cards in her hand, condeſcendingly waited till he had finiſhed his ſcrawl, to proceed in her play.

† She arrived there the latter end of July: her journey having laſted ſix months and four days.

The

The unfortunate khan, Sahim-Gueray, was not in the Krimea when the empreſs viſited that peninſula. After having diveſted him of his power, Potemkin retained him for ſome time with him at Kerſon; where that imprudent Tartar wore the uniform of general of the préobajenſkoi guards, and was decorated with the ribbon of a ruſſian order. He was afterwards ſent to Kaluga; his penſion was ſtopped, himſelf left in the moſt extreme deſtitution; and he was obliged to abandon his native country, to throw himſelf into the arms of the Turks, whom he might have regarded as his moſt mortal enemies, if the Ruſſians had not been ſo.

He firſt retired into Moldavia, where a capigi-bachi and the hoſpodar long adviſed him in vain to repair to Conſtantinople. Colonel de Witt*, then commander of the fortreſs of Kaminieck, and obſequiouſly devoted to prince Potemkin, united his ſollicitations with thoſe of the capigi-bachi. But Sahim-Gueray ſtill held out. He doubtleſs foreſaw the fatal lot that awaited him. In ſhort, his perſon was ſeized, and he was tranſported to the iſle of Rhodes. There Sahim-Gueray took refuge in the houſe of the

* The huſband of the madame de Witt before mentioned.

french

french conſul *, of whom the Turks immediately demanded his ſurrender. The conſul, thinking that they would not dare to violate his aſylum, generouſly refuſed to give up the man who had put himſelf under his protection; but they threatened to ſet fire to his houſe, and ſeizing the opportunity his momentary abſence gave them, they tore down the arms of France from over the gate, which they went and placed againſt a neighbouring houſe, and ſtrangled the unfortunate khan. Thus it was that the Turks took vengeance on this prince for his defection, and that the Ruſſians rewarded him for having ceded to them his dominions.

Some time previous to the departure of the empreſs for the Krimea, Bakunin, the miniſter of the department of foreign affairs, and at firſt in the higheſt degree of favour, received orders to travel. Bezborodko † was deſirous of placing Markoff

* The name of the conſul was Mille.

† The miniſters, properly ſpeaking, are the heads of the principal departments or colleges, and eſpecially thoſe of the college of foreign affairs. The chief, or the vice-chancellor (the poſt of chancellor being vacant) may be conſidered as prime miniſter. Count Oſtermann is a man not at all above the ordinary ſtamp, whoſe father and grandfather filled the ſame office before him: he who held it under the empreſs

Markoff at Peterſburg. Nothing farther was neceſſary for procuring the baniſhment of Bakunin. But whether he was unable to reſiſt the chagrin he experienced from loſing his place, or whether it was ſome other cauſe that accelerated the period of his life, Bakunin had not an opportunity to carry the ſecrets of the government into foreign countries: he died almoſt ſuddenly.

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empreſs Anne was involved in the diſgrace of marſhal count Munich, and did not bear his reverſe of fortune with ſo much fortitude as the marſhal. The ſecond of the ſame college was M. Bezborodko, looked upon as a very laborious ſtateſman; and his rapid riſe would be almoſt incredible in any other country. Not twenty years ago he was ſecretary to marſhal Romantzoff. His chief talent conſiſts in a thorough knowledge of his native language, which he writes in a pure ſtyle: a talent extremely rare among the Ruſſians, and which alone has made the fortune of numbers. The empreſs repoſed great confidence in count Bezborodko; employing him to terminate the negotiations interrupted by the death of prince Potemkin. It was at that time reported, that he intended ſhortly to retire, though ſtill in the prime of life, and capable of ſervice for many years to come. A conſiderable income, a taſte for pleaſure, and the love of independence, all together ſeemed to give room to think that he would willingly ſubmit to the efforts of a powerful cabal directed againſt him, and retire to Moſco, peaceably to enjoy his opulence: however, this retirement has not yet taken place, and the tzar Paul wiſely repoſes as much confidence in him as his mother had done before.

Markoff

Markoff was then recalled from Stockholm, and put in the place of Bakunin; while Andrew Razumoffsky, whoſe talents and courage procured him the eſteem of Catharine, was tranſlated from Denmark to Sweden.

Markoff, the ſon of a ruſſian peaſant*, acting at firſt in capacity of ſecretary to prince Gallitzin, miniſter plenipotentiary at the Hague, had accompanied prince Repnin to the congreſs of Teſchen, and was afterwards ſent to Paris, where he received orders from the empreſs to go into Sweden. Being active and artful, he ſuited Bezborodko, eſpecially as there was a great ſimilarity in their purſuits of pleaſure. Accordingly, a great intimacy ſoon ſprung up between them, which the latter had afterwards ſome reaſon to repent †.

However,

* M. Markoff followed next to count Bezborodko in the ſame college. He paſſed for the moſt ſagacious of the three; which was not ſaying a great deal. However, it muſt be owned, that both his talents and attainments are of rather a ſuperior caſt; and he might have aſpired to the foremoſt places while the empreſs lived, and which he would have filled as well as any other perſon; always ſuppoſing that he were to have no other competitors than the people then about the court.

† He was removed from his poſt by the preſent emperor Paul, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne.—The miniſterial functions never prevented him from attending to the promotion

However, prince Potemkin wiſhed, at all events, to induce the Turks to commence hoſtilities. Independently of the hope of again diſmembering the ottoman empire, he was deſirous of war from a private motive, — a motive which rendered it neceſſary to him. Though in a manner burthened with titles, honours, dignities, and croſſes of knighthood, he ſtill wiſhed to procure the grand ribbon of the order of St. George. For the obtaining of this, he muſt

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tion of the arts: while miniſter at Stockholm, a french actreſs appeared to him worthy of ſhining on the ſtage of Peterſburg; and he conceived it not incompatible with his dignity to take charge of this modern Melpomene. Perhaps it might have been as well to have firſt obtained the conſent of the managers of the theatre at Stockholm: but having only in view the glory of his country, and the claims he ſhould acquire on its gratitude, by procuring to the imperial reſidence of the ruſſian empire ſo enchanting a ſubject, may be admitted as an excuſe for this piece of neglect. Madame Huſs, on her part, reſolved not to be ungrateful towards the man to whom ſhe was indebted for figuring in one of the firſt theatres of the world: ſhe never quitted him, lodged at his houſe, and allowed him not to recreate himſelf, after the painful buſineſs of the miniſtry, any where but with her. Madame Huſs is certainly an incomparable actreſs, by the confeſſion of many perſons who have frequented the theatres of London, as well as that of Peterſburg.

have the command of an army, gain a victory, and conſequently cauſe the death of a multitude of ſoldiers. But, in the ſight of the ambitious, what are the lives of ſeveral thouſands of men in compariſon of an ornament that flatters their pride?

Bulgakoff, miniſter of Ruſſia at Conſtantinople, had been at Kerſon, to inform the empreſs of his ſecret operations, and of the diſpoſitions of the divan. That miniſter had formed correſpondencies in Ægypt, by means of baron Tholus, conſul-general of Ruſſia at Alexandria. Another conſul which Ruſſia kept at Smyrna, named Peter Ferrieri, engaged in all the intrigues of which a daring Greek is capable. A third endeavoured to raiſe inſurrections in Moldavia. The ruſſian ſhips made a licentious uſe of the numerous privileges which had been granted them by the Porte; and the court of Peterſburg perpetually gave countenance to this violation of treaties.

The Porte, diſcontented at this conduct, and irritated at the diſcovery of a correſpondence between Ibrahim-bey, one of the rulers of Cairo, and the ruſſian miniſter, gave orders to the capudan-paſha to go and quell the diſturbances in Ægypt. Within a few days afterwards, the

the grand vizir and the reis effendi demanded a conference * of the miniſter, at which they delivered to him a memorial ſuccinctly drawn up, to which they requeſted him to give an immediate anſwer. This memorial ſtated:

" That experience having ſhewn that the " ruſſian conſul in Moldavia was a reſtleſs and " turbulent man, who employed all ſorts of " means to diſturb the peace of the two empires, " the grand ſignior inſiſted that he ſhould leave " his dominions without delay.

" That the troubles which had now for two " years been raging in Georgia, being evidently " the effect of the protection which the empreſs " had granted to prince Heraclius, againſt the " ſpirit of the treaties ſubſiſting, it was but juſt " that the ruſſian troops ſhould quit Teflis, and " retire ſo far from that kingdom, as was requi- " ſite to the reſtoration of tranquillity.

" That the ruſſian veſſels which paſſed be- " fore Conſtantinople, having always prohibited " merchandize on board, his ſublime highneſs " required, that all theſe veſſels ſhould be " viſited without exception.

" That the Sublime Porte, being aſſured that " prince Alexander Mauro-Cordato, who had

* The 26th of July.

" fled from Yari at the beginning of February,
" had found an aſylum in Ruſſia, it demanded
" that this prince ſhould be abandoned.

" That the Ruſſians muſt furniſh the inhabit-
" ants of Otchakoff with a greater quantity of
" ſalt than they have hitherto done.

" That, laſtly, the grand ſignior demanded a
" power to appoint, in the ruſſian dominions,
" agents to protect the commerce of his
" ſubjects."

For anſwering this memorial, Bulgakoff requeſted time to conſult his court. This was readily granted; but the divan ſoon met again, and reſolved that it was needleſs to wait for the anſwer from Peterſburg. War was declared in Conſtantinople, and Bulgakoff ſhut up in the caſtle of ſeven towers *.

The internuncio † of the court of Vienna, and the ambaſſador of France ‡, united their efforts with the divan to obtain the releaſe of Bulgakoff. All their endeavours were fruitleſs. The miniſter of Great Britain had at that time more influence than they, and entered warmly into the reſentment of his court, which had beheld with a jealous eye the empire of Ruſſia forming a treaty of commerce with France.

* The 18th of Auguſt. † Baron von Herbert.
‡ M. de Choiſeul-Gouffier.

The

The Turks began to make preparations for war with the greateſt alacrity. They ordered 80,000 men to march, to cover Otchakoff. A formidable army advanced to the ſhores of the Danube; and the grand vizir was in readineſs to unfurl the ſtandard of Mohammed at the head of the ottoman troops.

A ſquadron of 16 ſhips of the line, 8 frigates, and ſeveral gallies, entered the Euxine under the command of the capudan-paſha.

The old admiral was juſt then returned from Ægypt, where he had ſubdued the rebellious beys, Ibrahim and Amurath, and collected a tribute of more than twelve millions of piaſtres. But he was ſtill humble under all this ſucceſs. He even now recollected with grief the diſaſters of Tſcheſmè; and, previous to his departure for the Krimea, he called together the principal officers of his fleet, and made them the following ſpeech:

" You know whence I am come, and what " I have atchieved. A new field of honour " invites me, as well as you, to devote the laſt " ſigh to the honour of our faith, to the ſervice " of the ſultan and the invincible nation, who, " in the preſent ſituation of affairs, demand the " laſt drop of our blood.—It is in order to fulfil " this ſacred duty, that I now part from thoſe

" of my family that are deareſt to me. I have
" granted liberty to all my ſlaves of both ſexes;
" I have paid them all that I owed them; and I
" have rewarded them according to their deſerts.
" I have bid my laſt adieus to my wife; and I
" am going in queſt of battles, in the firm reſo-
" lution either to conquer or to die. If ever I
" return, it will be by the ſignal favour of
" heaven. If I am deſirous that my days
" ſhould be prolonged, it is only that they may
" be terminated with glory. Such is my im-
" moveable reſolution.

" You, who have ever been my faithful
" companions, I have called you together to
" exhort you to follow my example in this
" deciſive conjuncture. If there be any one of
" you who feels not the courage to be willing to
" die in the glorious conflict, let him declare it
" freely. He ſhall find favour before me,
" and ſhall immediately receive his diſmiſſion.
" Thoſe, on the other hand, who ſhall be
" wanting in courage to execute my orders in
" battle, muſt not pretend to find an excuſe in
" contrary winds and the diſobedience of their
" crews; for I ſwear by Mohammed and by the
" life of the ſultan, that I will have their heads
" cut off, and the heads of their crews. But he
" who ſhall diſplay courage, and perform his

" duty,

" duty, ſhall be liberally rewarded. Let all " thoſe who are willing to follow me on theſe " conditions, riſe up then, and ſwear to obey " me faithfully."

At theſe words all the commanders having riſen, ſwore to conquer or to die with their grand admiral. " Yes," exclaimed he, " I " acknowledge you all as my brave and faithful " companions! Go, return to your ſhips. " Call your crews upon deck. Communicate " to them my ſpeech; receive their oath, and " keep in readineſs for ſailing to-morrow."

The Turks, ſuſpecting the fidelity of the Greeks, diſarmed them all: at the ſame time publiſhing a manifeſto to invite the Tartars to return to their allegiance to the grand ſignior. That race regretted the loſs of their former maſters, and deteſted their new ones. In vain did the empreſs load them with preſents; in vain had ſhe cauſed the koran to be printed *, and moſques to be built; they ſaw in her only the chriſtian, and in their heart preferred to her a muſſulman prince. The myrzas then met and elected for their khan Shah Par-Gueray, who ſoon beheld under his orders an army of 40,000 men.

* The empreſs had the koran or kour'ann printed at Peterſburg for the uſe of the inhabitants of Taurida.

At Peterſburg the news of the war was received with tranſports of joy. It had long been foreſeen by the empreſs; and ſhe expected it with impatience. All her preparations were made. She had already a great force in the Kuban; and detachments of her armies were on their march to the Krim. The whole face of the country, from Kaminiek to Balta, was covered with her troops. Prince Potemkin, commander in chief of all theſe forces, had under his orders Suvaroff, Repnin, Kamenſkoï, Kakoffsky, and a number of other generals. Marſhal Romantzoff, unwilling to be an inſtrument to the glory of Potemkin, excuſed himſelf on account of his great age, and refuſed the command, of which ſome remains of a forced reſpect had procured him the offer. His ſon went, and joined the army.

A fleet of 8 ſhips of the line, 12 frigates, and near 200 chebeks or gun-boats, was equipped in the Euxine; and two ſtrong ſquadrons under the command of admiral Kruſe and admiral Greig, were in readineſs at Cronſtadt to ſail for the Mediterranean.

By the alliance of Joſeph II. the empreſs was ſecure of another powerful ſupport, as that prince was no leſs deſirous than herſelf of a war with the Turks. Eighty thouſand Auſtrians

were on their march to Moldavia: in a word, all ſeemed to announce the approaching overthrow of the ottoman empire.

Catharine, in the mean time, diſſembling both her ſentiments and her deſigns, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which ſhe reproached the Turks with the infraction of the treaties which had been violated only by herſelf; and, after a long enumeration of the pretended wrongs committed by the Porte, ſhe added:

"That, provoked by ſo offenſive a conduct, "ſhe had, much againſt her will, been obliged "to have recourſe to arms, as the only means "left her for aſſerting the rights which ſhe had "acquired at the price of ſo much blood, and "to avenge the dignity of her crown, injured by "the violence that had been uſed towards her "miniſter at Conſtantinople; that, perfectly "innocent of all the calamities inevitably en-"gendered by war, ſhe had a right to rely, not "only on the providence of God and the aſſiſt-"ance of her allies, but on the devout aſpira-"tions of the chriſtian world, for the triumph "of a cauſe ſo juſt as that which ſhe was forced "to maintain."

This manifeſto was ſoon followed by a ſecond, which declared:—"That the Porte had had the "arrogance to inſiſt on a categorical anſwer to "its

" its abſurd demands; and that the empreſs, " forced to repel the aggreſſion of the enemy " of the chriſtian name, armed herſelf with con- " fidence under the protection of that righteous " God who had ſo long and ſo powerfully pro- " tected the ruſſian empire."

In ſupport of theſe memorials by which Catharine was moving heaven and earth againſt the Ottomans, means were employed ſtill more adapted to the ſuperſtition of the Ruſſians; papers were diſperſed emphatically publiſhing the prophecies of the patriarchs Jeremiah and Nicon*, predicting the ſpeedy ruin of Conſtantinople. This was at the ſame time an indirect manner of combating a ſort of falſe prophet called the Sheik Manſour, who, affirming that an angel had appeared to him in the midſt of a wood, had been able to collect an army, and to raiſe againſt the Ruſſians all the hordes of mount Caucaſus.

The empreſs earneſtly ſolicited the ambaſſador of France to engage his court to join her for the diſmemberment of the ottoman empire. In return for this ſervice, ſhe offered to cede to France the poſſeſſion of Ægypt, of the conqueſt

* Nicon, raiſed to the patriarchal dignity in 1652, changed the antient liturgy of the greek church.

of

of which ſhe thought herſelf ſecure. But the ambaſſador was averſe from truſting to the ſpecious bait. He knew that if Turkey was to be partitioned, Ægypt would be leſs deſirable to the French than the iſle of Candia. He knew, that though it would be advantageous for France to have a treaty of commerce with the Ruſſians, it was greatly more to her intereſt to prevent the demolition of the Turks, with whom ſhe was engaged in a more ſafe, more lucrative, and more convenient commerce. In ſhort, he knew that the inefficient government of Conſtantinople could never, like that of Peterſburg, threaten to diſarrange the equilibrium of Europe. Beſides, what right had Catharine to reckon on the ſubmiſſion of Ægypt? Her conſul-general Tholus, it is true, maintained ſeveral correſpondencies there; he had ſecured the beys Ibrahim and Amurath in his intereſt; but the temptations which he threw out to another bey, named Iſmaël, were not attended with the ſame ſucceſs. Iſmaël cauſed him to be arreſted, and ſent him to the paſha of Cairo, who detained him priſoner.

In her endeavours to incite the chriſtian princes to arm againſt the Turks, Catharine ſurely never ſuppoſed that they would ſecond her in all her ambitious ſchemes, or that they would remain at leaſt

leaſt calm ſpectators of her triumphs. She was not ignorant that England was inſtigating the Porte to go to war, and was ſending it ſupplies; and that Pruſſia would not patiently ſuffer either the aggrandiſement of Ruſſia or of the houſe of Auſtria. But what the empreſs did not foreſee, was the reſolution of Guſtavus III. to declare war againſt her immediately.

1788. Since count Oſtermann had quitted Stockholm, his ſucceſſors * had faithfully imitated his conduct. But no one had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his boldneſs as count Andrew Razumoffsky. Jealous of regaining the favour of his ſovereign, that miniſter was perpetually working to ſow diſſentions among the ſwediſh nobles, of whom the greater part were diſcontented with their king, and were but too much inclined to liſten to the inſidious advice of the Ruſſian.

Guſtavus reſolved to take his revenge. Before the Turks had declared war againſt Ruſſia, Heideſtam, his miniſter at Conſtantinople, had already received orders to conclude a treaty of alliance with them. The Turks recollected with reverence the victories of Charles XII. They thought that a king of Sweden might

* Mouſchin-Pouſkin, and afterwards Markoff.

make

make a powerful diverſion in their favour. They promiſed Guſtavus to grant him conſiderable ſubſidies, which in part were paid him on the ſpot. Beſides, Pruſſia lent him money, and England promiſed him the aſſiſtance of a fleet. That prince therefore began to arm.

Being a witneſs to the preparations that were going forward at Stockholm, count Andrew Razumoffsky haughtily aſked to what end they were making. Guſtavus, with ſtill greater haughtineſs replied, that he was not accountable for his actions to any foreign power. It was ſomewhat extraordinary to ſee an ambaſſador diſputing in the capital of Sweden the prerogatives of the ſwediſh monarch, and pretending to ſet bounds to his power. Guſtavus, juſtly exaſperated at this inſtance of preſumption, ordered Razumoffsky to depart from Stockholm. But the Ruſſian found means, under various pretexts, to defer his departure for a conſiderable time.

Notwithſtanding this, the preparations for war went on with the uſual ardour. The fleet was equipping at Carleſcrona; the troops to be embarked were gathering round the capital; others were on their march to Finland. It was artfully propagated that it was neceſſary to put the kingdom on its defence, as the court of Peterſburg

Peterſburg had threatened Sweden with an attack, unleſs Guſtavus would conſent to furniſh her with ſuccours againſt the Turks. The ſwediſh ſoldiers burnt with deſire to meaſure ſwords with a nation which their anceſtors had ſo frequently vanquiſhed. In a word, they were embarked, and the fleet which had them on board arrived in Finland, whither Guſtavus was gone before.

The troops had ſcarcely ſet foot on the frontiers, than a ſmall detachment of ruſſian chaſſeurs made a feint to diſlodge a body of Swedes who defended a bridge. Some fire-arms * were even diſcharged on both ſides, which Guſtavus readily took for a ſignal of war. His orders were already given, and his ſquadron captured two ruſſian frigates that were cruiſing off Sveaborg, for the purpoſe of exerciſing the marine cadets of Peterſburg.

Guſtavus reſolved to march againſt Frederik-ſham; but, as they had not yet been able to get the heavy artillery on ſhore from on board

* By the ſwediſh conſtitution, the king cannot attack a foreign power, without the conſent of the diet.—The Ruſſians pretend, that Guſtavus III. had diſguiſed the boors of Finland as ruſſian ſoldiers, and conſequently cauſed his own ſubjects to be killed, in order to have a pretence for entering the ruſſian territory.

the

the ſquadron of Carleſcrona, he now conceived the deſign of attacking the town on two different ſides at once, and take it by aſſault.

Terror and amazement took poſſeſſion of every breaſt at Peterſburg. All the ruſſian ſoldiery had been ſent off againſt the Turks. At the firſt moment of alarm the empreſs had no more than ſome invalids and a few detachments of her guards to ſend to the relief of Frederikſham. No doubt was entertained that Guſtavus would get poſſeſſion of that place, and proceed to lay ſiege to the reſidence. Catharine was extremely uneaſy, but always preſerved the appearance of perfect tranquillity. The french ambaſſador juſt at that time entering the palace, her majeſty aſked him, what news were talked of? —" That you are going to ſet out for Moſco, " madam," returned he.—" You did not be- " lieve it," ſhe immediately anſwered. " I " have given orders for a great number of poſt- " horſes to be kept in readineſs; but it is for " the purpoſe of bringing ſoldiers and can- " nons."

She did really bring together the few troops that were diſperſed among the leſs diſtant garriſons, and ſent them into Finland to join the detachments that were already there. The command of this incomplete army was given to Mouſchin-

Mouſchin-Pouſkin, an inexperienced general, whoſe reputation for military conduct was not calculated to ſtill the apprehenſions of the people of Peterſburg.

The empreſs haſtily publiſhed a declaration, in which, complaining of the behaviour of the king of Sweden, and of the neceſſity to which he had reduced her of arming againſt him, ſhe artfully diſſembled the weakneſs of her troops in Finland, and ſaid, on the contrary, that the garriſons had been reinforced, in the way of precaution, a long time before the aggreſſion of the Swedes.

At the ſame time ſhe ordered baron Nolken, the ſwediſh miniſter, to quit the empire without delay.

The ſwediſh fleet, conſiſting of 20 ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, and ſeveral corvettes, paraded about the gulf, and even advanced to within ſight of the batteries of Cronſtadt, and ſeemed to bid defiance to the ruſſian armament. That armament had received ſailing orders for the Mediterranean; but the appearance of the ſwediſh fleet occaſioned them to be recalled. The admiral received a command to make ready for ſea, but an incident of a ſingular nature prevented his compliance.

It is well known that there is a want of native officers of ſufficient ability and experience, to conduct the operations of the ruſſian navy with judgment and effect. It was not perhaps in the nature of things that this deficiency could be fully ſupplied by foreigners: it was however the only reſource; and the concluſion of the american war afforded a conſiderable ſupply of young engliſh officers, whoſe minds were too alert to live out of action if it could any where be found. Few, if any, of theſe had riſen to any higher rank in their own ſervice than that of lieutenant, ſo that the command of ſingle ſhips ſeemed the higheſt advancement to which they could yet be competent. They were however of the utmoſt importance to Ruſſia in the preſent ſtate of things; and Great Britain, notwithſtanding the jealouſies ſubſiſting between the two courts, refrained from proceeding to the extremity of recalling them home.

This known ſcarcity of commanders could not fail to attract the attention of foreign adventurers, who had acquired any experience and reputation in maritime affairs. Of this number was the engliſh pirate and renegado Paul Jones, who had rendered himſelf ſo notorious in the american war, by the miſchiefs which he did to the trade of his country, and whoſe deſperate

courage, which only ſerved to render his atrociouſneſs conſpicuous, would, in a good cauſe, have entitled him to honour.

This man could not but experience the common fate incident to his character; and, finding that he did not meet the conſideration which he expected in America, he made a tender of his ſervices to the court of Peterſburg; where he was gladly received, and immediately appointed to a high command in the grand fleet which was under equipment at Cronſtadt. The britiſh officers, full of thoſe national and profeſſional ideas of honour which they had imbibed in their own country and ſervice, conſidered this appointment as the higheſt affront that could be offered to them, and a ſubmiſſion to it an act of ſuch degradation, that no time or circumſtance could wipe away the diſhonour. They accordingly went in a body, to the amount of near 30, without a ſingle diſſentient lagging behind, or heſitating on the account of inconvenience or perſonal diſtreſs, to lay down their commiſſions; declaring at the ſame time, that it was impoſſible for them to ſerve under, or to act in any manner or capacity whatever, with a pirate or a renegade.

Nothing could have been more vexatious or more embarraſſing to the court of Peterſburg, at

at the preſent critical period, than this ſpirited conduct of the officers. Punctilios of honour, operating in the face of command, was a thing unheard of in that ſervice. No Ruſſian, under the firſt rank or order, would dare to inſinuate ſuch an idea. As it was, it could not be conſidered as leſs than a direct inſult to the court, and any ſubmiſſion to it as a grievous derogation from its dignity. It would beſides eſtabliſh a precedent which might be troubleſome or dangerous with reſpect to her own ſubjects. It was well for the officers that they were not the ſubjects of a ſmall ſtate, and that this did not happen in a ſeaſon of peace, when their ſervices might be diſpenſed with. The neceſſity of the time however prevailed. The appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the Cronſtadt fleet was recalled; and that adventurer (whoſe character of an impetuous courage had made an impreſſion on the court far beyond its real value) was diſpatched to the armament in the Euxine as ſecond to the prince of Naſſau. In the mean time, a ſcandalous adventure with a girl which made a noiſe in the town, occaſioned him to think it adviſable to quit the country entirely.

The ruſſian ſquadron commanded by admiral Greig now put to ſea, and the hoſtile fleets came in ſight, or rather approached each other,

in a fog, off the iſland of Hoogland. The action did not commence till five o'clock in the afternoon, and in two hours ſo many ſhips were diſabled on both ſides, that they were mutually obliged to lay by and refit, in order to prepare for a renewal. At eight o'clock the battle was renewed with apparently a freſh acceſſion of rage on both ſides. Nothing could exceed the dreadful violence of the action, or the fury and determined obſtinacy with which it was maintained. The darkneſs was ſo great, that the knowledge of each ſhip was in a great meaſure confined to her own ſphere of action; ſo that ignorant and heedleſs of what was paſſing elſewhere, ſhe fought as if all depended upon herſelf individually, and as if victory or deſtruction were the only alternatives. The victory, as is uſually the caſe in actions not apparently and abſolutely deciſive, was claimed by both fleets, as a flag-ſhip had been taken on either ſide.

From this time to the end of the campaign, the Swedes continued ſhut up in the harbour of Sveaborg, being precluded even from the means of refitting, while the ruſſian fleet rode the triumphant miſtreſs of all the ſeas within the Sound; nor was it long before a numerous flotilla of ſmall veſſels, laden with proviſions for the army in Finland, as well as for the fleet,

through the fatal lack of protection, became a prey to the enemy.

The joy which this ſudden turn of affairs occaſioned at Peterſburg, may be eſtimated from the panic which had ſo lately, for the firſt time, ſeized the reſidence; and the importance that was ſet upon the ſervice at court, was fully ſhewn by the favour which the empreſs conferred upon admiral Greig. A letter, written to him with her own hand, was filled with praiſe and acknowledgment; and this honour was ſucceeded or accompanied by the ſubſtantial benefits of a conſiderable ſum of money, and of a good eſtate in Livonia. This commander, who was ſingularly fortunate in his life, ſeems to have been no leſs ſo in its period, which took place before the cloſe of the year, when he was loaded with all the honour and favour which he ſeemed well capable of receiving. The diſtinction and honour paid to him did not end with his life. His funeral was, by the expreſs orders of the empreſs, celebrated with the greateſt pomp, being decorated and adorned by all thoſe appropriate naval and military honours, which the martial nations of Europe have aſſigned as the laſt tribute to the memory of the brave.

Guſtavus now offered propoſals to the empreſs for an accommodation, on conditions purpoſely

calculated to wound the pride of that princeſs. He required that count Razumoffsky ſhould be exemplarily puniſhed for the intrigues and machinations of which he had been guilty at Stockholm; that the part of Finland and of Karelia that had been ceded to Ruſſia by the treaties of Neuſtadt and Abo, ſhould be reſtored to Sweden; that the court of Peterſburg ſhould make peace with the Porte, under the mediation of Sweden, who would propoſe to re-eſtabliſh the independance of the Krimea, in conformity with the treaty of Kaïnardgi, and in caſe of a refuſal, ſhould fix the boundaries, ſuch as they were in 1768. He farther required that Ruſſia ſhould immediately diſarm, and conſent that Sweden ſhould remain armed until after the concluſion of the treaty.—"What language! exclaimed Catharine. "If the king of Sweden "were already at Moſco, I ſhould even then "ſhew him what a woman like me is able "to do, ſtanding on the ruins of a mighty "empire."

Inſtead of making any reply to the propoſals of Guſtavus, her majeſty recalled general Mikelſon, who was fighting againſt the Turks; conferred on him the command of her army in Finland, and reinforced that army with 20,000 men. Beſides, ſhe reckoned on the defection of

the

the officers of Guſtavus; and they ſoon found that ſhe was not miſtaken.

The ſwediſh monarch was already within a ſhort diſtance of Frederikſham. He had cauſed a part of his troops to be embarked on board of gallies, giving orders to general Siegeroth, who had the command of them, to go and land on the other ſide of the town, to begin the attack as ſoon as ever the troops were on ſhore, and to fire a cannon as a ſignal for acting on both ſides at once.

Siegeroth was retarded by contrary winds, and had great difficulty in landing his troops. He however ſucceeded at length, and gave the ſignal agreed on. Immediately Guſtavus reſolved to lead up his men. But ſome of the principal officers, at the head of whom was colonel Heſteko, repreſented to him how very difficult it was to attack the fortreſs on the ſide where he was; that it was againſt their duty to allow him to expoſe his perſon to inevitable danger, and that he himſelf ought to ſet ſome value on the lives of his faithful ſubjects.

This certainly was not ſuch language as was held by the conquerors of Narva: but Guſtavus III. had no reſemblance with Charles XII. Nevertheleſs, expreſſing his ſurpriſe at theſe words of his officers, he replied that he would be obeyed. Upon this, ſeveral of them united

in declaring that they could not undertake an offenſive war without the conſent of the nation; that they were ready to ſhed their blood in defence of their country; but that they would never reſolve to attack a neighbour who had not provoked them.

Stung with this reſiſtance, the king addreſſed himſelf to the ſoldiers. The regiment commanded by colonel Heſteko immediately laid down their arms, and their example was followed by the greater part of the army. Guſtavus now charged lieutenant colonel Roſenſtein to go and tell general Siegeroth, to reimbark his troops; and he himſelf retreated to Kymenagorod. The next day he cauſed the officers who had refuſed to march to be put on board a ſhip, and ſent them to Stockholm; where they were received by the populace with every mark of diſpleaſure, and were ſhortly after put under arreſt.

It is not to be doubted that the nobles, who regretted the change in the antient form of government, were willing to avail themſelves of this opportunity for bringing it back to its primitive ſtate, and were acting in concert with Ruſſia *. But a number of other officers, whom

* Letters were intercepted of a correſpondence which was carried on by ſome of the principal officers with the court of Ruſſia.

they

they had gained over, were not in the ſecret; and the ſoldiers eſpecially could not be acquainted with it.

The defection of the Swedes was more than a victory to Catharine. Not ſatisfied with this advantage, that princeſs, conformably with the treaties ſubſiſting between her and Denmark, called for the ſuccours ſhe had a right to demand of that power againſt the Swedes. Though wiſely inimical to war, the court of Copenhagen was faithful to her engagements. She immediately ordered a fleet to be equipped; and the prince royal, accompanied by prince Charles of Heſſe *, went on board, in order to proceed to Norway, and put themſelves at the head of the troops.

The Norwegians, a ſimple and generous nation, maintaining amidſt their rocks the purity of antient manners, and that valour which rendered them ſo famous under Margaret of Valdemar; the Norwegians, whoſe lofty ſtature, flaxen hair, and venerable beards, keep alive the remembrance of their fathers, thoſe heroes who ſo often invaded England, and received the well-earned honour of being celebrated in the ſtrains

* The prince of Heſſe is father-in-law to the prince of Denmark.

of

of Oſſian; the Norwegians heard not in vain the ſignal of war. At the voice of the prince of Denmark, they darted through the paſſage * enſanguined by the death of Charles XII. entered the weſtern provinces of Sweden, forced, at Quiſtrum, a part of the regiment of Weſtrogothia to capitulate, made themſelves maſters of Oudewalla, and of all the other places they came to in their way; and went and laid ſiege to Gothemburg.

Gothemburg, after Stockholm, is the moſt conſiderable city of Sweden. The loſs of it would have been almoſt irreparable to Guſtavus. That prince was already returned to his capital, when he learnt that Gothemburg was beſieged: whereupon he ſent the regiment of Yemland and his own guards to reinforce the garriſon, and repaired himſelf to Dalecarlia. There he aſſembled the peaſants, reminded them of what they had atchieved for Guſtavus Vaſa, and conjured them to march with him to the defence of their country.

* Near Frederikſhall. It may here be obſerved, that there is no longer any doubt in Sweden that Charles XII. was aſſaſſinated. An officer of the name of Cronſted, who died at a very advanced age, declared that he himſelf killed Charles XII. at the inſtigation of that monarch's brother-in-law.

Three

Three thouſand Dalecarlians followed him at once. They were imitated by the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces; and Guſtavus ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous army: but, dreading leſt Gothemburg ſhould ſurrender ere theſe ſuccours arrived, he departed with one of his aides-de-camp and a ſingle domeſtic, put on a diſguiſe, that he might not be known to the enemy, and penetrated as far as the walls of the city. He at firſt met with great difficulty in entering the gates. The ſoldiers would not believe that it was their king; but at length the gates were opened to him.

Notwithſtanding his preſence, notwithſtanding the army that followed him, Gothemburg would have been taken, had it not been ſaved by the arrival of unexpected ſuccours.

Mr. Gilbert Eliot, the engliſh miniſter at Denmark, was no ſooner informed that Gothemburg was in danger, than he quitted Copenhagen, croſſed Sweden in great expedition, and repaired to the camp of the daniſh prince. He ſummoned that prince to raiſe the ſiege of Gothemburg, declaring to him, that unleſs he evacuated the territory without delay, England would lay an embargo on all the daniſh ſhips in her ports, and would ſend a ſquadron to bombard the caſtle of Kronenburg.

The

The prince of Denmark, ſtruck with theſe menaces, immediately thought of retiring, when the pruſſian miniſter * came and ſeconded that of Great Britain. A truce was preſently concluded; and the army of the daniſh prince peaceably returned to Norway. It was certainly to the ſpirit and activity of the britiſh miniſter, that Guſtavus was indebted for the preſervation of Gothemburg. The menaces held out by that envoy had not been preſcribed him in his diſpatches: but they ſucceeded; and he was highly applauded by his court.

In the mean time the ruſſian forces that were gone againſt the Turks and the Tartars were gaining frequent advantages. The fleet of the Euxine fell in with that of the capudan-paſha, of 16 ſhips of the line, and obliged him to avoid an engagement by flight. Not long after, the capudan-paſha, having been to reconnoitre the gallies and armed boats under the prince of Naſſau, off Nicolaef, not far from Otchakoff, immediately collected all the veſſels of every kind in the road of that fortreſs, to the number of 57, and prepared in perſon to attack the ruſſian ſquadron, ſtationed at about two leagues from the place where the Dnieſter falls into the

* Count von Rhode.

Euxine.

Euxine. On the 18th of June he advanced, with a favourable wind from the Liman, which he had entered, againſt the Ruſſians, who were waiting to receive him. The Turks, ſtill having the wind in their favour, began the cannonade, but at too great a diſtance to effect any harm. The Ruſſians remained quiet till the enemy was within reach, and then fired ſo ſucceſsfully, that, notwithſtanding the capudan-paſha's great ſuperiority, he was obliged, after an engagement of five hours, to retire in great diſorder under the guns of his grand fleet, which was below Otchakoff; and the prince of Naſſau returned to his former ſtation. The Turks had three gallies ſunk, and moſt of their crews drowned; and many more were damaged and diſabled. The Ruſſians loſt not one veſſel, and had very few killed and wounded. Prince Naſſau diſplayed great bravery in this action; but the victory was chiefly owing to the talents of captain Fanſhaw, an engliſh officer, with two french officers, Varage and Verbois *, and above all to the dutch captain Winter.

Here it was ſeen what courage national pride can inſpire, even in the breaſt of ſlaves. When the capudan-paſha's ſhip caught fire, a turkiſh

* Verbois afterwards periſhed in a veſſel that blew up in the road before Otchakoff.

ſailor

ſailor ran acroſs the flames to ſave the flag; and while he was unfaſtening it, a ruſſian ſailor, not leſs intrepid, jumped into a canoe, climbed on board the ſhip ready to blow up, ſeized on the flag, and brought the Turk with him priſoner.

The generals Talieſin and Tekely defeated, in ſeveral rencontres, the Tartars of the Kuban. Tamara had already made himſelf maſter of Georgia, and kept the Leſghis in awe.

In the mean time vaſt armies were preparing for the field. Nothing that tended to enſure the moſt deciſive ſucceſs could be withheld from the grand favourite prince Potemkin, in whoſe department the war lay. It was even expected, that, in the diſtribution of kingdoms and empires, a ſovereign dominion, under whatever title, would be allotted to his ſhare *. Thoſe Ruſſians who conſidered themſelves as patriots, entertained in the mean time the moſt ſerious apprehenſions of the conſequences which might enſue, under certain poſſible and natural circumſtances, from ſo vaſt a power being lodged in the hands of a ſingle man, as he already poſſeſſed. With reſpect to the war, nothing could

* There is little doubt that the idea at this time was to have formed the territories of Moldavia and Valachia into a monarchy, for the ſake of placing prince Potemkin at its head.

exhibit

exhibit a more forbidding or a more deplorable aſpect than the intended ſcene of action. Famine, peſtilence, with all the deſolation and calamity of a long and moſt cruel war, had laid waſte the tartar countries, and ravaged both the turkiſh and ruſſian borders; ſo that all the proviſion for the armies, the ſingle article of green forage excepted, was to be brought from an immenſe diſtance.

In defiance of theſe difficulties, a vaſt ruſſian army, eſtimated at 150,000 men, appeared on the banks of the river Bohg †, adjoining to the confines of Poland, Turkey, and Tartary, and on the way to the Euxine, under the orders of prince Potemkin and general Romantzoff. Theſe being aſſiſted by prince Repnin, generals Suvaroff and Kamenſkoï, frequently beat the Turks, who avenged themſelves on the Auſtrians. This great force was ſupported by a field-train of 137 pieces of artillery, beſides an enormous park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, deſtined for the ſiege of Otchakoff; and furniſhed with that exuberance of powder, ball, ſhells, and all manner of military machines, which are the uſual concomitants of a ruſſian army, particularly when engaged, as at preſent,

* About the 18th of June 1788.

upon

upon favourite ſervice. A large portion of this army, under the command of general Romantzoff, was deſigned to enforce reſpect on the ſide of Poland and Lithuania, and to furniſh a ſtrong ſeparate command under general Soltikoff, to ſupport the auſtrian commander prince Cobourg on the ſide of Moldavia; with a view firſt to the ſiege of Khotyim, and, after that capture, to the conqueſt of the whole province. This aſſignment of the active and principal ſervice to prince Potemkin was ſo deciſive a victory over his great rival and competitor for honour and favour, general Romantzoff, and ſo grievous a mortification to the latter, that it preſently after occaſioned his reſignation.

While theſe tranſactions were going forward, prince Potemkin was employed in the ſiege of Otchakoff. Fortifications of uncommon ſtrength, an abundant ſupply of ammunition, a numerous garriſon, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, ſeemed neceſſarily to render this place impregnable. The beſiegers ſuffered ſo greatly from cold, that they had been obliged to dig ſubterraneous huts to ſcreen themſelves from its fatal effects: being likewiſe in want of proviſions, they died in great numbers every night. But the froſt, which cauſed them ſo much trouble to reſiſt, aſſiſted them in taking the town.

town. Obſerving that it was open to attack on the ſide of the Liman, where it was leſs fortified, and where the ice facilitated acceſs to it, prince Potemkin ſuddenly ſent orders to command the aſſault; and, while he remained in his camp with his miſtreſſes, his lieutenants, at the head of a party of troops, ruſhed into the town, and ſpread carnage and deſolation on every ſide. It is not, however, to be thought, that prince Potemkin was detained by fear: for ſeveral days before he had paſſed many times to and fro, with the utmoſt coolneſs, under the very cannon of the ramparts *, becauſe he had learnt, that ſome one or other had dared to ſuſpect his courage. He abſented himſelf from the aſſault of Otchakoff for no other reaſon than that it did not preſent him with an opportunity for diſtinguiſhing himſelf in an extraordinary manner.

Prince Anhalt-Bernburg followed a different conduct. He was the firſt to enter the town, at

* It is related that, in one of theſe walks, a general officer, who accompanied him, had his thigh carried away by a cannon-ball, and ſuffered ſome cries to eſcape him. "What do you cry for?" ſaid Potemkin coldly. The officer was ſilent from reſpect. He died the next day.

the head of the grenadiers * and chaſſeurs. The fight was long and bloody, both on the ramparts and in the ſtreets. The turkiſh ſoldiers defended themſelves with obſtinate bravery; and almoſt all of them were ſlain with their weapons in their hands. The reſt were put to the ſword; and a great part of the inhabitants met the ſame fate.

The Ruſſians now gave up the town to plunder. They entered the houſes; and, after putting the maſters of them to death, carried off the valuables, and abandoned themſelves to all the horrors of debauchery and rapine. The ſcenes of riot and ſlaughter laſted three whole days, and coſt the lives of more than 25,000 Turks. In making the aſſault, the Ruſſians loſt 12,000 men.

1789. Theſe conqueſts were nearly as fatal to the victors as to the vanquiſhed: but Catharine was not the leſs ardent in continuing the war. She ordered a freſh levy of recruits throughout her extenſive domains; for the purpoſe at once of reinforcing her armies in the Krimea and on the banks of the Danube, of ſtationing others in Poland, and of marching a formidable force

* Prince Potemkin had created a body of 40,000 grenadiers and the ſame number of chaſſeurs. He muſt always be in extremes.

againſt

againſt the Swedes. But men began to grow ſcarce in the ruſſian empire: the wilds of Siberia were therefore ranſacked for its exiles; and a part of them were brought to be incorporated with the recruits.

During all this time Guſtavus III. was employed in forming ſchemes of revenge. He could not forgive the empreſs for the diſſentions which her agents were perpetually fomenting in Sweden, nor the daniſh government for the ſupport it had given to Ruſſia. A lieutenant-colonel, named Benzelſtierna, took up the reſolution of adminiſtering to the animoſity of his maſter.

The ruſſian ſquadron had entered the road of Copenhagen, where it was detained the whole winter by the ice. Sprengporten, the ſwediſh ambaſſador, was a frank and generous old man, much reſpected by Guſtavus, but in whom he placed no great degree of confidence. Without recalling this ambaſſador, his majeſty conferred the title of chargé des affaires on a perſon named Abeldyl, and ſent him to Copenhagen, earneſtly recommending it to him to have a vigilant eye on the proceedings of the Ruſſians and the Danes.

Benzelſtierna loſt no time in joining Abeldyl; and, under pretence of ſetting on foot ſome new

ſpeculation in commerce, connected himſelf with a captain Obrien, a native of Ireland. He purchaſed his ſhip of him, paying 12,000 rix-dollars in advance *; and, leaving him in the command of it, entered into a written engagement farther to pay him a like ſum, if the enterpriſe ſhould ſucceed. He then freighted the veſſel with caſks well pitched within and without, and filled with brandy; and ordered him to take advantage of the firſt north-eaſt wind, by ſetting fire to his ſhip. By this execrable contrivance it was intended, not only to burn the ruſſian fleet, but that of the Danes alſo.

Obrien had the indiſcretion to ſpeak of his agreement to one of his friends named Teſt. This man, ſtruck with horror at what he heard, went in all haſte to report it. The daniſh miniſtry immediately ſent people to ſearch the veſſel, and cauſed Obrien to be taken into cuſtody. Benzelſtierna, ſuſpecting the failure of his plot, had gone for ſafety to Abeldyl, who ſent him to the houſe of a miniſter of his acquaintance, whence he was enabled to make his eſcape in the livery of a domeſtic.

The daniſh ſailors, excited by the Ruſſians, aſſembled in great numbers about the gate of

* About 3000l. ſterling.

Abeldyl,

Abeldyl, declaring their intention to murder him, and ſet fire to his houſe. But, having foreſeen this tumult, Abeldyl had already gone off to the coaſts of Scania *. The rioters were diſperſed by a detachment of the military.

The

* The deſign of ſetting fire to the men of war in the harbour of Copenhagen was doubtleſs horrible. But perhaps the Ruſſians had no reproaches to make the Swedes on that head. Theſe two nations, who have often contended with ſo much courage, have ſometimes ſeen their courts deſcending to the vileſt ſtratagems againſt each other. Stockholm will never forget the aſſaſſination of major Saint-Clair. In 1738, Saint-Clair, who had been ſent to Conſtantinople with powers for negotiating, was returning with a Frenchman named Couturier. Being arrived at Khotyim, the paſha informed him, that he was laid wait for by two emiſſaries of Ruſſia: the ſame thing was likewiſe told him by a Pole. Saint-Clair rejected the advice with indignation. At an inn in Breſlau he met the ruſſian captain Kutler, lieutenant Levitzki, and four ſoldiers diſguiſed as ſervants, who, after having recognized him, went and waited for him near the village Zauche. There Kutler came to him, greeted him politely, and aſked whether he was not major Saint-Clair? Being anſwered in the affirmative, he arreſted him in the name of the empreſs Anne, and conducted him into a wood near Neuburg. Here he made him alight from his carriage, led him about twenty paces from it, fired a piſtol at him, and, on his falling, cauſed him to be diſpatched by the four ſoldiers. During this time, Levitzki, who was placed as a guard on Couturier, coldly ſaid to him: "Ne timeas, peccatum eſſet contrà ſpiritum ſanctum male-

The atrocious attempt of Benzelſtierna was not calculated to work a reconciliation between the two courts of Peterſburg and Stockholm; and the operations of the war were reſumed with vigour. The fleets of the two nations met at the diſtance of a few leagues from Bornholm: but the wind permitted them not to come to an engagement.

The Swedes having fitted out a fleet of gallies and gun-boats, the empreſs oppoſed to them one of ſimilar conſtruction, under the command of the prince of Naſſau, who had quitted the Liman * and the Euxine for that purpoſe; having likewiſe, as it was ſaid, had ſome differences with prince Potemkin †.

" facere viro probo ſicut te. Iſte habuit quod merebat; " erat inimicus magiſtri. Inimicus magiſtri eſt inimicus " Dei; et puto me non peccaſſe interficiendo eum." The aſſaſſins then proceeded to divide the effects of the two travellers between them, and carried Couturier into the ruſſian fortreſs of Sonneſtein, whence, on being diſcharged, he was aſſured that, if he ever ſpoke a word of the aſſaſſination of Saint-Clair, they had means for ſeizing him and puniſhing him, wherever he ſhould happen to be.

* A broad lake, formed by the Dnieper and the Bogh, before their junction with the Euxine; and which is itſelf ſo conſiderable a piece of water as to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Liman ſea.

† They were reconciled afterwards.

The

The ruſſian gallies fell in, by ſurpriſe, with the ſwediſh gallies near Rogenſalm; and prince Naſſau, always aſſiſted by the counſels of Varage *, captain Winter, and a milaneſe officer, the chevalier de Litta †, gained the ruſſian flag a ſecond victory. Winter, to whom the ſucceſs of this day was principally owing, was ſtruck by a cannon-ball, and died of the wound.

During this engagement between the galley-fleets, the Ruſſians had attacked the ſwediſh army, ſtill in the neighbourhood of Frederikſham. Their advantages by land were not leſs conſiderable than thoſe by ſea; and they forced the troops of Guſtavus to evacuate ruſſian Finland.

The ſwediſh monarch, having collected freſh forces, was preparing for a ſecond invaſion of the ruſſian territory: but Catharine had had time to put them in a ſtate of defence. The two armies met; and the Ruſſians, commanded by general Numſen ‡, gained a complete victory.

* Some time after this engagement, Varage was killed in a quarrel with the Koſaks.

† The chevalier de Litta, a Milaneſe, commander of the order of Malta, is vice-admiral of the galley-fleet.

‡ General Numſen is a Dane, and has been long employed in the ruſſian ſervice.

1790. Guſtavus was not diſcouraged by this ſeries of ill ſucceſs; but went in perſon on board the galley-fleet, to go in queſt of the prince of Naſſau; from whom, after a deſperate battle, he captured 30 veſſels. Not long after he diſembarked, at the diſtance of not more than 30 miles from Peterſburg, ſeveral battalions of infantry and ſome ſquadrons of light troops. The reſidence was a ſecond time ſtruck with conſternation; during which the empreſs was at Tzarſko-ſelo, and never quitted that country-palace.

The grand fleet of the Swedes, commanded by the duke of Sudermania, purſued the ruſſian ſquadron into the very port of Reval. This imprudence coſt them two of their ſhips. But this miſtake was followed by one of greater magnitude, as attended with more danger. They conducted into the gulph of Viborg both their ſquadron of men of war and the galley-fleet, commanded by Guſtavus III. By this ill-judged ſtep the entire deſtruction of the ſwediſh navy ſeemed inevitable: but it was ſaved by two ruſſian admirals, Tſchitſchagoff and the prince of Naſſau.

Admiral Tſchitſchagoff, who had under his command a fleet far more numerous than that of the Swedes, neglected to provide with batteries the

the only two paſſages by which it was poſſible for the Swedes to eſcape. Theſe latter, who were in abſolute want of proviſions, and could not have long remained in the gulf, attempted to make their way out by ſetting fire to the ruſſian ſquadron that blocked up the paſſage. The wind coming favourably round to the eaſt, they got ready and ſent a fire-ſhip to lead the van, in order to force the ruſſians to diſperſe *. But the fire-ſhip ſtruck upon a ſand-bank and did no harm to the Ruſſians, while they ſet fire to ſeveral of the ſwediſh ſhips which the wind forcibly drove towards them. Nine ſhips of the line, three frigates, and upwards of 20 gallies fell into the power of the Ruſſians.

This action was particularly fatal to the britiſh officers. Captain Deniſon, a gallant and ſkilful officer, had his head ſhot off by a cannon-ball; captain Marſhal, in attempting to board one of the enemy's ſhips, fell into the ſea and was drowned; captain Miller, equally bold and enterpriſing was ſeverely wounded in his leg; captain Aikin, likewiſe a ſpirited and brave commander, had his thigh-bone ſhattered ſo as to render amputation neceſſary, and about four years afterwards died of an epidemic fever at Cronſtadt.

* The inventor of this ſtratagem was ſir Sidney Smith, then attendant on the king of Sweden.

Several

Several others were ſeverely wounded; and captain James Trevenen, after having gallantly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, was mortally wounded by the laſt ſhot fired by the enemy, and died on the fifth day after *.

The

* This gentleman was a native of Cornwall, and of a very reſpectable family in that county. After receiving his education at the royal academy at Portſmouth, in the year 1776 he embarked as a midſhipman with captain Cook, on his laſt voyage to the ſouth ſeas. In taking aſtronomical obſervations, and ſurveying the various coaſts, he proved an able aſſiſtant to that great navigator, who juſtly conſidered him as a young man of ample promiſe to do honour to the ſervice and to his country. On his return from that expedition in 1780, he was promoted by the earl of Sandwich to the rank of lieutenant; in which capacity he ſailed, till the concluſion of the war, with captain King, who had the higheſt eſteem and friendſhip for him. Being impatient of an inactive life, in the year 1787 he ſolicited employment of lord Howe, then at the head of the admiralty; but, unfortunately for the naval ſervice of his country, his application proved ineffectual. This refuſal induced him to draw up a plan of diſcovery, and a propoſal for opening an intercourſe by ſea between Kamtchatka and Japan, and the northern parts of China; which was laid before the empreſs Catharine, and ſo well approved of by her, that ſhe immediately ſent an officer expreſs to invite him over to carry it into execution. He arrived at Peterſburg the latter end of 1787; but the war with the Turks breaking out, put a ſtop to the intended expedition, and he was prevailed upon to accept the command of a ſhip of the line. In the various

engagements

The remainder of the ſwediſh gallies retreated behind the rocks of Schwenko-ſund, which form ſeveral petty iſles on a level with the water's edge. The prince of Naſſau, whoſe fleet was twice as ſtrong as that of Guſtavus, advanced to give him battle. His unſkilfulneſs offered an immenſe advantage to the Swedes; he was completely beaten, and loſt the half of his fleet, with more than 10,000 men. However, his arrogance and vanity did not forſake him. Imagining that the people under his command had ſuffered themſelves to be beaten purpoſely to tarniſh his glory, he wrote to the empreſs:— "Madam, I have had the misfortune to fight "againſt the elements, the Swedes, and the "Ruſſians. I hope that your majeſty will do "me juſtice."

The empreſs returned him for anſwer: "You "are in the right, becauſe I am reſolved that "you ſhall be ſo. This is highly ariſtocratic;

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engagements that afterwards took place in the Baltic with the Swedes, he bore a very active part, and was honoured with repeated marks of the empreſs's favour; and doubtleſs had he lived, would ſoon have arrived at the foremoſt rank in her ſervice. He was a man of ſtrong natural abilities, greatly improved by cultivation; and poſſeſſed a high ſenſe of honour, and a liberal enlightened mind.

"but

" but it is therefore ſuitable to the country in " which we live. Depend always on your " affectionate CATHARINE."

Thus were the Ruſſians at length defeated, partly, it may be ſaid, on their own element, and entirely in their own favourite manner of fighting, in which they were deemed irreſiſtible; ſo that as the Swedes formerly taught them to conquer by land, they now in return taught the Swedes to beat themſelves in this new ſevere mode of deciding the fortune of war. The prince of Naſſau likewiſe, who had plumed himſelf highly on being the king of Sweden's direct adverſary, and who ſhewed ſome evident marks of oſtentation on his ſucceſſes againſt him, was now compelled to lower his creſt, and to reſign his laurels to a ſuperior foe. The ſcanty proviſion made for him afterwards by the empreſs*, whoſe uſual magnificence, expence, and liberality being conſidered, ſufficiently ſhews that this misfortune ſerved much to wear away the memory of his former exploits. Indeed

* The empreſs had conferred on prince Naſſau the rank of admiral of the galley-fleet of the Baltic, an eſtate in land with 4000 peaſants upon it, a palace in town and a penſion of 12,000 rubles. All this however did not prevent him quitting the ſervice of Ruſſia for that of Pruſſia.

few

few things could have gone nearer to the heart of the empreſs than this defeat.

The battle of Schwenko-ſund accelerated a peace. Guſtavus III. by this time ſaw the imprudence of his conduct, and no longer indulged the expectation that the war which he had declared againſt the Ruſſians could be attended with any great ſucceſs, and make a uſeful diverſion in behalf of the Turks. He was rather apprehenſive leſt the Ruſſians might take advantage of the deſtruction of his navy, of the diſordered ſtate of his finances, and of the diſcontent of the ſwediſh nobles, to invade his dominions: accordingly he made no heſitation to accept the terms that were offered him on the part of the empreſs.

Galvez, the miniſter of Spain at the court of Ruſſia, offered his mediation to Catharine, and zealouſly employed his good offices in obtaining favourable conditions, by promiſing that Guſtavus would directly march againſt the French. This was all that the empreſs deſired; and, feigning to pardon her enemy, in hope of ſeeing him entangle himſelf in a diſtant adventure, ſhe blinded him the more to her views by affecting an uncommon generoſity. She required nothing more than the re-eſtabliſhment of the treaties of Neuſtadt and Abo, and the total oblivion of

the

the late hoſtilities. The treaty was accordingly ſigned at Varela without delay *.

During the war of Finland, Catharine had at once an opportunity for diſplaying her clemency and her ſeverity. Some ſwediſh officers employed as teachers in the cadet-corps at Peterſburg, preſumed to carry on a correſpondence with their countrymen, in which they ſpoke of the empreſs with great boldneſs, though probably with much truth. Their letters were intercepted and carried to her majeſty, who read them through. The Swedes were immediately arreſted, and examined by Stepan Ivanovitch Schiſchkoffsky †, head of the ſecret commiſſion, and by a worthy military officer whom the empreſs joined with him in order to moderate his ſavage diſpoſition. The crime was proved, and the guilty had certainly merited the puniſhment of death. Yet the empreſs was ſatisfied with ſending them into her interior provinces, continuing to them the whole of their appoint-

* The 14th of Auguſt.—General Igelſtrœm ſigned for Ruſſia, and general Armfeldt for Sweden.

† If it were the faſhion to believe in the metempſychoſis, it might be imagined that the ſoul of the cauſtic and barbarous St. Dominic had paſſed into the body of Stepan Ivanovitch Schiſchkoffsky.

ments,

ments, and at the peace ſhe ſent them into their own country.

At the ſame time Radiſcheff, a director of the cuſtoms at Peterſburg, publiſhed the narrative of a journey from Peterſburg to Moſco, in which he feigned to have had a dream, wherein Truth appeared to him, and bade him deliver ſuch repreſentations, in which the unbounded authority of Potemkin was energetically depicted, and where he had even dared to attack the empreſs. This was the firſt printed libel that ever appeared at Peterſburg; and, what is extremely remarkable, conſidering the ſtrict obſervation that is kept over the preſs, it was ſold on the Exchange by hawkers for two days together at the price of 20 kopeeks, with the imprimatur of the public licencer upon it, before it attracted the notice of government. Inquiries being made about it, the officer of the police whoſe buſineſs it is to licenſe publications ſaid, that he looked at the manuſcript, ſaw that it was the account of a journey to Moſco, ſtampt it with his imprimatur, and thought no more of it. Though Radiſcheff had printed the pamphlet in his own lodgings, with the types of the cuſtom-houſe preſs *, yet he was preſently diſcovered,

* All the public inſtitutions almoſt have printing-rooms belonging to them.

and,

and, on being interrogated concerning it, he ſimply replied, that he conceived there was no harm in publiſhing a dream, and that if people ſaw their own reſemblances in it, he was no more in fault than a man who ſhould hold up a mirror for all the world to look in that pleaſed. At this the empreſs was ſo incenſed that he was ſent to Siberia. It was certainly a ſhocking piece of inſolence, but ſuch an one as Frederic II. would have only laughed at.

Count Alexander Vorontzoff and princeſs Daſhkoff his ſiſter, the known patrons of Radiſcheff, were ſuſpected of having inſtigated him to this publication. The former was even expoſed to the examination of the ſecret commiſſion, and from that time both the one and the other loſt much of their conſequence at court.

Thus Catharine behaved to the Swedes with an apparent generoſity, becauſe ſhe wanted to gain partiſans in Sweden; while ſhe could ſometimes put on a terrible aſpect to the nation already in ſubmiſſion to her power.

But the war of the Ruſſians with Sweden has detained us from that which ſhe was carrying on againſt the ottoman Porte. We ſhall now return to it. The grand ſignior Abdul Achmed IV. was dead *, and the ſon of ſultan Muſtapha, his

* In the ſpring of 1789.

brother and predeceſſor, had aſcended the throne under the name of Selim III.*

It was now ſuppoſed, and with great probability juſtly, that if the empreſs failed in the proſecution of her grand ſcheme, of driving the Turks entirely out of Europe, and placing her grandſon Conſtantine upon the throne of the antient greek emperors, her next favourite object, and not much leſs dear to her, was to erect the noble provinces of Moldavia, Valachia, and Beſſarabia into an independent ſovereignty, for her great favourite, prince Potemkin; whoſe perſonal influence and vaſt power, already nearly ſupreme, had long ſpread jealouſy and alarm, if not through the empire, at leaſt through the court, and among the principal nobility. The great and conſtant oppoſition which ſhe met with from the allies, was undoubtedly the cauſe which induced the empreſs at length to abandon this deſign; and in the place of an independent ſovereignty in theſe provinces to ſooth Potemkin's ambition for the preſent by appointing him hetman of the koſaks, an office of the greateſt truſt and power in the empire, which likewiſe carried in ſome ſort the ſemblance of ſovereignty; and which had only been filled

* Selim III. was at that time 28 years of age.

by count Razumoffsky ſince the days of the celebrated Mazeppa. But, in what regarded Otchakoff, the Krimea, the Euxine, and all other points of her claim, ſhe perſevered in maintaining the ſame inflexible obſtinacy. This was ſo much reſented by the allied powers, and the differences upon the ſubject roſe to ſuch a pitch, that Ruſſia was on the point of being involved in a war with Great Britain and Pruſſia; which was indeed only prevented by the powerful oppoſition and clamour which was raiſed in England againſt the intentions of government.

If that event had taken place at a certain period, Sweden, which was already a ſore thorn in the ſide of Ruſſia, would have become not only an equal, but a ſuperior enemy. Placed by his ſituation on the only vulnerable ſide of that country, and ſupported by engliſh fleets and pruſſian armies, the heroic king would have been enabled to carry fire and ſword into the very heart of the empire; and poſſibly to produce one of thoſe extraordinary revolutions, for which that government has ever been ſo remarkable: an event for which many thought the people were at that time fully ripe. It is then eaſily ſeen of what vaſt importance it was to the court of Peterſburg to draw off Sweden from an alliance,

alliance, which was capable of producing ſuch dangerous conſequences: at the ſame time, though comparatively a ſmall conſideration, yet a very favourite one, that it would enable that court to perſevere in its native haughtineſs with reſpect to the other allies.

The taking of Otchakoff and the ſucceſſes which had preceded that capture were magnificently rewarded. Catharine ſent to prince Potemkin a preſent of 100,000 rubles, with a marſhal's truncheon, ſet with diamonds and entwined by a branch of laurel, the leaves of which were gold. Shortly after this ſhe conferred on him the title of hetman of the koſaks, juſt become vacant by the death of the aged Cyril Razumoffsky. Her majeſty gave prince Repnin a ſword, the hilt whereof was cloſely ſet with brilliants, and to general Suvaroff a plume of diamonds *. The other generals and officers obtained alſo ſome mark of favour, and all the ſoldiers who had entered Otchakoff received a ſilver medal, with the recommendation to wear it at the button-hole.

* This preſent made to marſhal Suvaroff muſt have appeared the more ſtrange, as, in order to gain the affection of the ſoldiers, he affected great ſimplicity and coarſeneſs of manners. He was ſeen ſometimes to take off his ſhirt among the koſaks, bidding them to hold it to the fire, ſaying that it was the beſt way of killing the vermin.

Rewards doubtleſs adapted to rouze a great ſpirit of emulation in the ruſſian armies! All their ſteps were marked by triumphs. Prince Potemkin took the iſle of Bereſan*. Prince Repnin drove the Turks from the borders of the Solſka. Suvaroff beat them completely at Fokſham†: then, hearing that the auſtrian army commanded by the prince of Saxe-Coburg was preſſed hard by that of the grand vizir, he put himſelf at the head of 8000 Ruſſians, and ran to aſſiſt the Auſtrians. The latter, to the number of 30,000, were already flying before the Turks, who had attacked them with an army of 100,000 men. The intrepid Suvaroff came up and changed the whole fortune of arms.—"My "friends!" cried he to his ſoldiers, "never "look at the eyes of your enemies. Fix your "view at their breaſts: it is there that you "muſt thruſt your bayonets."—And, at that inſtant falling on the Turks, they were routed with a horrible carnage, and he remained maſter of the field of battle. This victory, gained near the river Rimniks, procured Suvaroff the ſurname of Rimnikſky and the double title of count of the holy roman empire and of the ruſſian empire.

* In 1789. † The 21ſt of July 1789.

Some

Some time after this, the ſame general took poſſeſſion of Tutukay * in Bulgaria. The ferocious Kamenſkoï † reduced to aſhes the magnificent town of Galatſha, ſituate on the Danube, and the foremoſt of all Moldavia after Yaſſi, to which it was ſuperior in point of commerce. Ac-kerman, Khedſebey, Belgorod, Palenka, ſubmitted to the arms of Potemkin. Bender ſurrendered at diſcretion.

Iſmaïl ſtill held out. Prince Potemkin had been beſieging this place for ſeven months, and now began to grow impatient that he had not yet reduced it. Living in his camp like one of thoſe ancient ſatraps, whom he alone in our days has equalled, perhaps ſurpaſſed, in luxury, he was ſurrounded by a crowd of courtiers and women, who employed every effort to amuſe

* Suvaroff is as ſingular for the brevity of his ſtyle as for the rapidity of his conqueſts. On this occaſion he wrote no more to the empreſs than four lines of ruſs poetry, which ſignify, "Glory to God! Praiſes to Catharine! "Tutukay is taken! Suvaroff is in it!"

† General Kamenſkoï was ſo cruel, that Potemkin would not leave him in the command of the army. He conſigned every place he took to plunder, and then burnt it: but his rage was particularly directed againſt prieſts, whom he cauſed to be harneſſed to the baggage-waggons of the army, inſtead of horſes. The jews were alſo the object of his fury. He martyrized them by ſtripping them naked in the depth of the winter, and pouring cold water on their heads.

him. One of theſe women*, pretending to read the decrees of fate in the arrangement of a pack of cards, predicted that he would take the town at the end of three weeks. Prince Potemkin anſwered, ſmiling, that he had a method of divination far more infallible. At that inſtant he ſent his orders to Suvaroff to take Iſmaïl within three days. Suvaroff made himſelf ready. The third day he drew up his ſoldiers, and ſaid to them:—"My brothers, no quarter! "Proviſions are dear!" and immediately began the aſſault. The Ruſſians were twice repulſed with great loſs. But at laſt they ſcaled the ramparts, forced their way into the town, and put all that oppoſed them to the ſword. Fifteen thouſand Ruſſians purchaſed with their lives the bloody laurels of Suvaroff. That general then wrote to the empreſs theſe words alone:— "The haughty Iſmaïl is at your feet."

The famous Haſſan, who, from the poſt of capudan-paſha, had been raiſed to that of grand vizir, was unable to bear up againſt ſo many diſaſters, and died of vexation in his camp. His ſucceſſor was decapitated at Shumla; and paſha Youſſouf ſucceeded him; but this change was not attended by a return of good fortune to the Turks.

* Madame de Witt.

Several

Several french officers were at the taking of Iſmaïl; among whom Roger Damas, Langeron, and the younger Fronſac, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the attack of that place, and were not the more noticed for it by prince Potemkin. Some days afterwards, this latter, diſcourſing of the french revolution, and treating it as a crime for a people to uſe any efforts for regaining their liberty, ſaid to Langeron: "Colonel*, your "countrymen are a pack of madmen. I would "require only my grooms to ſtand by me; and "we ſhould ſoon bring them to their ſenſes." Langeron, who, though an emigrant, could not patiently hear his nation thus ſpoke of, anſwered boldly: "Prince, I do not think you "would be able to do it with all your army." At theſe words the prince roſe up in great fury, and threatened Langeron to ſend him to Siberia†. Langeron inſtantly went away; and, croſſing the Seret, which divides Moldavia from Valachia, he entered himſelf in the auſtrian camp.

* Langeron had been formerly colonel in the regiment of Armagnac.

† Potemkin was on ſome occaſions extremely iraſcible, and would ſometimes be ſo tranſported with paſſion as to beat even general-officers: he one day gave a box on the ear to a foreigner, who was a major in the ruſſian ſervice, for having praiſed, in ſome verſes he had compoſed, the miſtreſs of his ſecretary Popoff in the ſame ſtanza with that of the prince.

Catharine, elated on hearing of theſe ſucceſſive victories, when ſir Charles Whitworth appeared the next time at court, ſaid to him, with an ironical ſmile, "Sir, ſince the king your maſter "is determined to drive me out of Peterſburg, "I hope he will permit me to retire to Con-"ſtantinople."

Prince Potemkin, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for permitting him with ſafety to leave the army, haſtened his return to Peterſburg, to enjoy his triumph in the approbation of his ſovereign. The empreſs received him with tranſports of joy. Feſtivities and preſents now reſumed their alternate courſe. She gave him another palace contiguous to her own, which had formerly belonged to baron Wolff, and which had now been fitted up for his reception at the expence of 600,000 rubles, and a coat laced with diamonds, which coſt 200,000. He himſelf diſplayed a pomp which would have appeared exceſſive in the moſt ſplendid court of Europe. The expence of his table alone, on ordinary days, was regularly about 800 rubles; it was furniſhed with the moſt exquiſite dainties and the rareſt fruits. In the depth of winter he has beſpoke long beforehand all the cherries of a tree in a green-houſe, at a ruble the cherry. He poſſeſſed an immenſe quantity of jewels, ſome of which he had ſcarcely ſeen, and never cared about,

about, ſince the moment they were firſt brought him. He one day took a diſlike to his diamonds, and they were all ſold: ſome time afterwards the deſire returned of having them; and he ordered them to be bought on all hands and at any price.

Without being ſo powerful as Biren or Mentchikoff, who wanted nothing but the title of emperor, prince Potemkin ſaw all Ruſſia at his feet, eſpecially the military, of whom he was the abſolute lord; and his levée was frequently more thronged than that of the empreſs.

Prince Potemkin, in large companies, had a downcaſt ſullen look: ſeated among twenty ladies, like a ſultan in his ſeraglio; ſpeaking to not one of them, except in monoſyllables and at long intervals: he wanted nothing but the turkiſh pipe for being abſolutely the figure we ſee in pictures of the grand ſignior. Though in Ruſſia there are a great number of princes, and the major part of them ſuperior by birth to prince Potemkin, yet he was always called *the prince* by way of excellence.

The prince, as has been already obſerved, had a very ſtriking defect in one of his eyes: a report was one day ſent to him by the hands of a one-eyed colonel; which might very naturally have happened without deſign; he, however, took

took it for a piece of ill-judged wit, and teſtified his diſpleaſure in a very emphatical, and, it may be added, a very puerile manner.

He behaved with great haughtineſs towards thoſe who made their court to him. It is true, he knew his people, and conducted himſelf accordingly. He has ſometimes in public taken a ruſſian general by the collar; but he was extremely polite to all foreigners, even to thoſe who ſerved in his army as ſubalterns. He had major-generals to wait on his perſon, who performed exactly the office of valets-de-chambre: this, indeed, was no obſtacle to their promotion: and it depended on them to judge whether or not they had reaſon to congratulate themſelves on having obtained it at that price. A lady well known at Peterſburg, whoſe huſband had a place at court, ſaid publicly, in 1791, that ſhe ſhould ſet out with the prince, who had given her an eſtate of 2000 rubles a year, to go and paſs the ſummer with him at Yaſſy.

He was eager to procure the moſt coſtly things of every kind. He had ten or a dozen violins of exorbitant price; one among others of 6000 rubles value; he never played on a violin in his life; and they were all either ſpoiled by the duſt, or gnawed by the rats; for after the moment he bought them, he never ſaw them

more. Somebody ſpeaking before him of a library, prince Potemkin ſaid he had one of greater value than the moſt learned man in Europe could ſhew; and, opening a book-caſe, there appeared ſeveral ſhelves of books, which, on being taken down, were ſeen to be nothing more than boxes gilt and lettered at the backs, and filled with bank-aſſignats and rouleaux of imperials and ducats to an amazing amount.

It has already been obſerved, that the prince was harſh towards the officers: but he was condeſcending towards the ſoldiers, among whom he had entirely deſtroyed all diſcipline: accordingly, he was beloved by them, and deteſted by the former. It is pretended, that this conduct had been concerted between the empreſs and him, in order to put diſcord between the officer and the ſoldier, eſpecially in the regiments of guards; both of them being aware, that revolutions are effected in Ruſſia by the ſoldiery, and conſequently that ſuch a ſpirit ſhould be kept up; that the officers might be ſacrificed at the firſt ſignal.

The moſt extraordinary projects of future aggrandiſement have been aſcribed to him: as that of taking advantage of the influence he had over the troops for excluding from the throne the grand duke and his ſons, on the death of the empreſs,

empreſs, and of cauſing the eldeſt of the grand ducheſſes to be crowned: it is added, that his deſign was to marry her, or at any rate to have reigned in her name. The fondneſs he always ſhewed to hold up and heighten whatever the young princeſs ſaid, to give it a conſequence with the empreſs, might have given birth to this (to ſay the leaſt of it) curious idea. Others pretend, that his intention was to become hoſpodar of Moldavia; and we ſhould be much diſpoſed to adopt this opinion, without, however, rejecting the others. Nobody doubted that he had formed ſome plans of this nature. Potemkin had gained the good-will of the nobility of the country; he careſſed them all, even down to the odnodvortſi; and every thing led to believe that theſe nobles, flattered by the officiouſneſs and obliging manners of a man who, in general, was not laviſh of his civilities, would have given him their voice. And it can as little be doubted that the empreſs would have ſupported his pretenſions, becauſe, on his death, ſhe would have gained Moldavia, as ſhe had already obtained the Krimea.

During this ſtay of four or five months, in 1791, at Peterſburg, he expended upwards of 1,200,000 rubles. But the entertainment he now gave at his Tavritſcheſkoï palace (ſince his death

death called the Pantheon) exceeded any thing of the ſort that we read of in the tales of our youth. Crowned with laurels, and wearied with conqueſts, he haſtened to the reſidence of his ſovereign, to enjoy his triumph in the ſun-ſhine of majeſty, and for a moment to forget, in the circle of pleaſures that awaited him, his bloody conflicts and the thouſands of ſlain. A dark preſentiment ſeemed hovering in his mind, that this would be the laſt moment he had to paſs in that magnificent theatre of his greatneſs; and his aim now was to enjoy that moment. He laid the plan of an entertainment which ſhould give him the opportunity to preſent a tribute of gratitude at the feet of the exalted authoreſs of his fortune in his own houſe, in the preſence of the whole aſſembled court. This, like all his other plans, was extraordinary and great. A whole month was conſumed in preparations: artiſts of all kinds were employed; whole ſhops and warehouſes were emptied to ſupply the neceſſaries of the occaſion; ſeveral hundred perſons were daily aſſembled in making previous rehearſals for the final execution; and each of theſe days was of itſelf a grand ſpectacle. At length the moment arrived, which had kept the whole public of the reſidence on the utmoſt ſtretch of expectation by the great preparations that were making for it.

Notice

Notice had been given, that the empreſs and the imperial family would honour this day by their preſence: the court, the foreign miniſters, the nobility, and a great part of the people of condition in the city were invited. The company began to aſſemble in maſquerade dreſſes at ſix in the evening. When the empreſs got into her carriage, on a ſignal being given, the treat for the populace was opened in the public place before the palace. High piles of clothes of all the various articles, lofty pyramids of eatables, and a competent ſupply of liquors, were here ſurrendered to the general ſcramble.

On her majeſty's entering the veſtibule * of the Tauridan palace, the loud muſic ſuddenly ſtruck up from the lofty gallery, reſounding through the grand ſaloon and the ſpacious halls. The orcheſtra conſiſted of 600 performers; and inſtruments and voices produced their alternate effects.—In a few minutes afterwards, the empreſs advanced to the grand ſaloon, attended by the brilliant concourſe, and took her ſeat upon a gentle elevation, decorated with tranſparent repreſentations; the company divided among the colonnades and into the boxes; and now

* The deſcription of this palace, without which the account of the entertainment would be incomplete, is before given in this volume, p. 225.

began

began the ſecond ſcene of this uncommon entertainment. Four-and-twenty couple of the moſt beautiful youths of both ſexes, of noble families, among whom were alſo the grand dukes Alexander and Conſtantine, opened the dances with a quadrille. All were dreſſed in white, and only diſtinguiſhable by the colours of their girdles and ſcarfs. The value of their dreſſes was eſtimated at ten millions of rubles. The muſic to which they danced was accompanied with ſinging; and the famous Le Picque concluded the ſcene with a ſolo.

The company now proceeded to another hall, hung with tapeſtry of the richeſt and moſt coſtly kind. Here ſtood an artificial elephant, decorated with emeralds and rubies. The Perſian who conducted him ſtruck upon a bell; and this was the ſignal for another change.

A curtain flew up as if by magic, and opened to view a magnificently decorated theatre, where two ballets and a dramatical piece afforded entertainment to the ſpectators with their extraordinary excellence. The moſt complete and charming muſic, interrupted by choirs of ſingers, numerous ſets of fine dancers, a prodigious diſplay of pomp, and the ſight of an exceeding great diverſity of national dreſſes in their moſt pleaſing coſtume, now delighted every ſenſe at once.

once. When the play was over, the company divided into the ſeveral rooms of the palace. Whichever way the ſpectator turned his eye, the magnificent illumination ſtruck him with amazement. The walls and the columns all ſeemed to glow with various-coloured fire: large mirrors, here and there judiciouſly fixed to the ſides of the apartments, or made to form pyramids and grottos, multiplied the effect of this ſingular exhibition, and even made the whole incloſure from top to bottom, ſeem to be compoſed of ſparkling ſtones.

A table, ſuitable to the magnificence of the reſtivity, now waited for the company. Six hundred perſons ſat down to it; and the reſt were entertained at ſideboards. No other table furniture was ſeen upon the cloth, but gold and ſilver. Inſtead of the uſual candleſticks, the table was lighted by various-coloured vaſes, in which lamps were inſerted. An aſtoniſhing number of ſervants and domeſtic officers, in ſuperb dreſſes, were employed in waiting on the gueſts; and in every place any thing was to be had at the very firſt nod. Nothing that the moſt ſtudied epicuriſm was able to procure could be aſked for in vain.

The empreſs on this day, certainly the firſt time for many years, made an exception to her general

general rule, by ſtaying till midnight, in order not to diſturb the pleaſure of the hoſt and his company. On her entering the veſtibule again, the choir of voices melodiouſly chanted a hymn to Catharine's praiſe. Her majeſty, ſurpriſed and affected, was turning round to the prince, when, overpowered with his emotions, he fell on his knee, and, ſeizing her hand, bedewed it with tears. Some gloomy forebodings ſeemed to ſhake his whole frame; and his countenance was expreſſive of the ſentiment, that this was the laſt time he ſhould ever, on that ſpot, ſtammer out his gratitude to his magnanimous patroneſs.

Latterly, his ſpirits being wearied with the eternal round of diſſipation and pleaſure in which he had ſo long been engaged, and having nothing to hope for, or in any way to give agitation to his mind, the prince often experienced a languor and depreſſion that made time a burthen to him. Being now in Peterſburg, towards the beginning of the long winter-evenings, he would ſit alone, order the table to be ſpread with a black velvet kept for the purpoſe; then, having his diamonds brought, he would continue for hours amuſing himſelf, like a child, in placing them one after another, in the forms of circles, croſſes, and fanciful figures, con-

ſidering each before he placed it, and then admiring the ſituation of it or removing it to another. On one of theſe evenings the thought occurred to him to weigh his diamonds: they were found to amount to ſeveral pounds: the moſt remarkable were what compoſed an epaulette of brilliants to the value of eight hundred and fifty thouſand rubles; another of coloured ſtones of three hundred thouſand; perfect rubies, weighing from 35 to 36 carats, of ineſtimable value; the picture of the empreſs pendant to yellow and black diamonds, in imitation of the ribbon of the order of St. George, &c. He frequently amuſed himſelf by pouring his diamonds out of one hand into the other, as children play with little ſhells or dried peas. He would ſometimes paſs a couple of hours in biting his nails as he walked up and down his apartment, though there were a ſcore of perſons preſent. He has been juſtly accuſed of employing himſelf in frivolous matters; and the truth has even been exaggerated; but it is certain that he had grand and extenſive views, and that his death was a real loſs to the empreſs.

Prince Potemkin was in the ſecret of all the plans adopted by the empreſs, who regretted him the more, as he held the grand duke in awe. She loſt him at a time when ſhe repoſed no confidence

fidence in any one, and was too far advanced in life to think of training up another man to buſineſs, which demands the practice of a number of years. Potemkin directed all matters relative to the army; it is not to be inferred from thence, that all went on well, but all went on, and her majeſty required nothing more, There was often a want of proviſions, of forage, of every thing in his camp*. The hoſpitals might be conſidered as non-exiſtent; but all this paſſed at the diſtance of 1500 or 2000 verſts from the reſidence. The empreſs could not hear the complaints of all her ſubjects, and found it far eaſier to rely entirely on him, than to ſuppreſs abuſes, perhaps difficult of reform, from the number of people that profited by them.

The prince had a thorough knowledge of his country and his countrymen: he would, therefore, as was ſaid before, put on a very different behaviour towards a young engliſh or

* His houſe at Peterſburg exhibited the ſame diſorder, and ſeemed to be under the ſame ſort of management. It was no uncommon thing to paſs through a ſuite of apartments without finding a ſingle ſervant to take one's name: ſometimes not a bit of bread or a drop of water was to be had in the houſe; but there was always plenty of petit-pâtés and excellent champagne.

french officer, from what he would uſe to a ruſſian general; the former being ſeated beſide him, while the other was kept ſtanding, and did not venture over the ſill of the door: knowing that the Ruſſians, though ever ſo diſcontented at this or ſimilar treatment, never expreſs their diſcontent againſt a ſuperior. It was from his own genius alone that he had ſeized the character of other nations; and it certainly ſhews a niceneſs of tact exceedingly rare, as he had never been out of Ruſſia. But the greateſt encomium that can be paſſed on the talents of prince Potemkin, is by ſaying, that, having ceaſed to be favourite, inſtead of falling, if not into diſgrace, at leaſt into neglect and oblivion, he was able to maintain himſelf for ſo many years, and even to his death, in the poſſeſſion of a power entirely abſolute; a power which was never balanced by that of any of the favourites his ſucceſſors: he kept it complete and entire in a country ſo ſubject to ſudden revolutions, and (what is worthy of particular remark) with a ſovereign who cannot be accuſed of any defect of underſtanding and judgment, and of not reigning by herſelf. This, in the opinion of many, would alone be ſufficient to evince, that prince Potemkin was a man of no ordinary ſtamp; and even that he was very far from it. He is juſtly commendable

commendable for having always patroniſed his friends, and for never having ruined any one, though aſſuredly he had both the means and the opportunity in his power.

Some time in the year 1787, he took it into his head to have Plutarch read to him, to which he liſtened with great attention. When they were come to the life of Ageſilaus, and the account of his conqueſts, he interrupted his reader; and, after remaining thoughtful for ſome moments, he aſked him: "Think you, that I "could go, at ſome future period, to Con- "ſtantinople?" To which the reader replied: "If the ſovereign pleaſes, there is no impoſſi- "bility to prevent your going."—"That is "enough," returned the prince; "and if any "one ſhould come to-day, and tell me that I "could not go thither, I would ſhoot myſelf "through the head."

It is certain that he found the means of detaching France from Turkey, and of bringing her to concur with Ruſſia, which certainly ſhews no ſmall degree of political dexterity, eſpecially as he had to do with ſo political a people as the French. The news of the french revolution quite afflicted him. He was ſeveral times afterwards ſurpriſed in talking to himſelf on that

ſubject, in broken ſentences without connection, and with great geſticulation.

But we muſt now return to our hiſtory. After a ſtay of about five months at Peterſburg, prince Potemkin quitted the reſidence, to return to the army. Satiated with pomp and grandeur, with triumphs, and with pleaſures, he was reſtleſs and uneaſy every where; and his frequent ſighs betrayed the gloom that overſpread his mind *. He was ſatisfied neither with the flatteries of the courtiers, nor the bounties of his ſovereign, nor with himſelf; and his irritation ſeemed to increaſe at the preſence of the new favourite,

This favourite was Plato Zuboff. Objects more important have hitherto detained us from ſpeaking of him. It is neceſſary now to ſtate briefly the cauſes of his elevation, and the diſgrace of his predeceſſor.

* It is well known that prince Potemkin, on quitting Peterſburg, in 1791, had a ſecret preſentiment that he ſhould never return: he ſaid it over and over again. However, there was nothing marvellous in the matter. His manner of life, regular in no one reſpect, evidently tended to ſhorten his days: he was no more than 52 years of age; and his natural conſtitution ſeemed to warrant him a long courſe of life.

Momonoff

Momonoff was well enough liked by the empreſs; but he made her no adequate returns. He lived with her in the manner of a ſlave, the weight of whoſe chains were not the leſs felt for being of gold, and not as a lover pleaſed with pleaſing. His heart, however, was not inſenſible. Catharine, in the number of her maids of honour, had the daughter of prince Scherbatoff, young, handſome, and ſprightly, and with a diſpoſition to gallantry. Momonoff was ſoon ſmitten by her charms, and had made himſelf agreeable to her. But his paſſion had not as yet paſſed the bounds of reſpect; when one day he happened to hear Potemkin extol the charms of princeſs Scherbatoff. Momonoff was thunderſtruck. He knew the unlimited power of Potemkin: he knew that it was ſufficient for him to form a deſire for having it gratified: he therefore ran and threw himſelf on his knees to princeſs Scherbatoff, and imparted to her the cauſe of his uneaſineſs. For his comfort and encouragement ſhe promiſed to grant him what he was afraid of being deprived of by his rival; and ſhortly after he had additional reaſons for diſmiſſing his anxiety: Potemkin ſet out for the army.

This intimacy ſubſiſted a long time, and was known to all the court. Catharine alone perceived nothing of it. At length, however, by the jealouſy of ſome of the courtiers, her eyes were opened; ſhe was told that Momonoff had not ſurrendered to her the whole of his heart, of which ſhe ſoon after had evident proofs. However offended at this diſcovery, ſhe thought it beſt to connive at it, at leaſt for the preſent. This was during the ſummer of 1789. The court was at Tzarſko-ſelo; and the daughter of count Bruce, one of the richeſt heireſſes of the empire, had juſt been preſented.

Catharine, laying hold of this opportunity, ſaid to Momonoff, that ſhe intended he ſhould marry the young counteſs * Bruce. Momonoff implored her not to inſiſt upon it. The empreſs deſired to know the reaſon of his reluctance. At this he was embarraſſed: ſhe inſiſted; and he fell at her feet, confeſſing that he had plighted his faith to princeſs Scherbatoff. The empreſs wanted no farther explanation: the two lovers were married the next day, and ſet off for Moſco.

* In Ruſſia and in all the North, the young ladies bear the ſame title with their parents.

Momonoff

Momonoff was bound by every tie of gratitude to Catharine for her bounties, and the extreme condeſcenſion ſhe had always ſhewn him. But it was currently reported that he had the imprudence to mention to his wife the particulars of his interviews with the empreſs, and that ſhe divulged them with a levity injurious to the ſovereign. It was added that that princeſs repaid the indiſcretion by an act of great ſeverity. When Momonoff and his lady were gone to reſt, the maſter of the police at Moſco entered their apartment; and, after having ſhewn them an order from her majeſty, he left them in the hands of ſix women, and retired to an adjoining chamber. Then the ſix women, or rather the ſix men dreſſed as women, ſeized the babbling lady, and having ſtripped her entirely of her night-clothes, flogged her with rods in the preſence of Momonoff, whom they forced to kneel down during the ceremony. When the chaſtiſement was over, the police-maſter re-entered the room and ſaid; "This is the way the "empreſs puniſhes a firſt indiſcretion. For "the ſecond, people are ſent to Siberia."

The very day of the marriage of Momonoff, the poſt of favourite was conferred on Plato Zuboff, an officer in the horſe-guards. Prince Potemkin heard with much concern that the choice of

Catharine had fallen on Zuboff. He made it the ſubject of a letter to her majeſty, employing all ſorts of arguments to induce her to change her lover. But from the firſt period of his elevation Zuboff had rendered himſelf ſo agreeable that he was in no dread of a rival. The empreſs wrote to Potemkin, that ſo long as ſhe had no juſt reaſons to complain of Zuboff, ſhe ſhould not reſolve upon diſmiſſing him. Notwithſtanding this, Potemkin continued his importunities for ſome time.—" If you ſee the empreſs," ſaid he to one of the couriers who carried his diſpatches to court, " obſerve to her that I have teeth " which give me great pain, and that I ſhall not " be eaſy till I have got rid of them." It was a clumſey play upon words: the name Zuboff, in ruſs, ſignifies teeth.

The death of the emperor Joſeph II. * had left Catharine to contend with the Ottomans, reduced to her own forces alone. Leopold II. yielding to the ſollicitations of Pruſſia, and ſtill more to the exigencies of his people, who were ſinking under the preſſure of an unjuſt and unfortunate war, was in haſte to break off from Ruſſia and to conclude a ſeparate peace with the Porte.

* Joſeph II. died the 20th of February 1790.

It

It was no longer Frederic II. that reigned in Pruſſia. Five years had elapſed ſince he had terminated his long and brilliant courſe*. Endowed with a reſolute character and a flexile mind, he had improved them both by ſtudy and reflection. The leſſons he had imbibed from hiſtory rendered him at once a profound politician and an able general; his intercourſe with the philoſophers and fine writers of every age and nation, had qualified him for taking a place among diſtinguiſhed authors. While he was only prince royal, he ſeemed to aſpire at the glory of the Antonines or a Marcus Aurelius: but no ſooner was he ſeated on the throne than he took for his models an Alexander and a Philip. Returning victorious from a war which had threatened his ruin, he extended the limits of his dominions, and from the ſecondary power which fell to him by inheritance, he raiſed himſelf into one of the moſt authoritative potentates of Europe. To the titles of politician and conqueror which he had already acquired, he now added that of legiſlator; and, by the code which bears his name, he merited in many reſpects the gratitude of his ſubjects. Diſdainful of luxury from inclination, and fearful of it from œconomy,

* Frederic II. died the 17th of Auguſt 1786.

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he founded his pride on the number of his ſoldiers. Laborious, vigilant, indefatigable, he was employed to the laſt moment of his life in the adminiſtration of his kingdom: but at the ſame time he ſhewed himſelf more jealous of ſtrengthening and ſecuring his power and of the proſperity of Pruſſia, than of the happineſs of the Pruſſians. Did he live happily himſelf? It may be anſwered, no; ſince he was neither huſband *, nor lover, nor father, and often ſuffered himſelf to be ruled by two tormenting paſſions, avarice and ambition. He was emulous of the ſurname of Great: he obtained it of the age in which he lived, and there is no doubt but it will be confirmed by poſterity.

But though Frederic II. was no more, the ſame ſpirit ſtill directed the cabinet of Berlin. Some time before Leopold made peace with the Turks, Frederic William had ſigned a treaty with them. Thus Catharine at once loſt a defender, and was expoſed to the probability of having ſoon a new enemy to contend with. That enemy however did not draw the ſword againſt her, at which ſhe was not the leſs incenſed. He took advantage of the diſcontents

* It is well known, that, though he was married, he never cohabited with his wife.

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in Poland for gaining a conſiderable influence in that country, and leagued himſelf to it by a new treaty. Under pretence of defending the Poles he cauſed his troops to enter their territory; and, what perhaps occaſioned ſtill more heart-burning at the court of Ruſſia, he took poſſeſſion of the cities of Dantzick and Thorn.

The empreſs now began to ſee that her victories were ruinous, and that remote conqueſts might bring on the loſs of the provinces which ſhe poſſeſſed in Poland. In a word, ſhe perceived the neceſſity of bringing about a peace; but ſhe had too much pride to ſue for it, and rather than that, ſhe choſe to continue fighting.

Her armies obtained ſtill farther ſucceſſes. Kutuſoff beat the combined troops of the Turks and Tartars: prince Repnin, at the head of 25,000 men, entirely routed 70,000 Ottomans whom he met and engaged not far from Makzin: Goudovitch, brother of him who had formerly been the favourite of Peter III. made himſelf maſter of the fortreſſes of Sudyuk-kaly and of Anapa, on the frontiers of the Krimea and the Kuban, where he took 14,000 priſoners, among whom was the Sheik-Manſour, the pretended prophet of whom mention has been already made.

Great

Great Britain, who, in order to revenge herſelf for the alliance concluded between France and Ruſſia, had excited the Turks to declare war againſt the latter power, and had vainly been prodigal of her aſſiſtance in arms, ammunition, and counſel; Great Britain reſolved to take advantage of the moment when the court of Peterſburg was detaching itſelf from the French, to engage it in a connection with her.

After having appriſed of her deſign the cabinets of Berlin and of the Hague, who had acted in concert with her from the beginning of the war, ſhe eagerly propoſed her mediation to the empreſs, on condition that in making peace, that princeſs ſhould conſent to give up her conqueſts, and to take for the baſis of the new arrangements the treaty of Kaïnardgi *.

The court of London therefore ſent to Peterſburg Mr. Fawkener, ſecretary to the privy-council, giving him in charge two propoſitions, whereof the moſt favourable to Ruſſia was not to be produced unleſs the other ſhould not be accepted. Fawkener was not wanting in abilities as a negotiator: but was by no means a match for Catharine. Whether that princeſs had been ſecretly advertiſed by her emiſſaries, that the

* For the principal articles of which, ſee the Appendix to this volume, No. xxi.

britiſh

britiſh agent had the power to make her a double propoſal, or whether it was only matter of ſurmiſe, ſhe reſolved to avail herſelf of it. Determined on concluding a peace with the Turks, whatever it ſhould coſt her, in order that her armies might fall back into Poland, ſhe received Mr. Fawkener with extreme affability. She admitted him to her table at Tzarſko-ſelo, placed him over-againſt her, diſcourſed with him all dinner-time, and after riſing from table talked with him again, artfully by turns giving him reaſon to apprehend the failure of his negotiation, and inſpiring him with the hopes of its ſucceſs; ſhe at length ſo completely entangled him, that he had not the courage to propoſe any other than the moſt advantageous conditions.

Catharine, being thus made acquainted with the diſpoſitions of England, cauſed a memorial to be delivered to the daniſh miniſter, to prevail upon him to negotiate the preliminaries of peace with the cabinets of Berlin, of London, and of the Hague.

Count Bernſtorff was in all reſpects worthy of being truſted with the mediation of ſo important a cauſe, and eagerly informed the three allied courts of the intention of Catharine; in conſequence of which an accommodation between thoſe powers and Ruſſia was preſently agreed on.

In

In purſuance of this accommodation, the three allied courts agreed to propoſe to the Porte the terms offered by the empreſs, and declared, that if the Turks would not accept of theſe conditions, they would abandon their cauſe, and leave them to proſecute alone the war againſt Ruſſia.

A congreſs was aſſembled at Shiſtove; where the negotiators found at firſt ſome difficulty in coming to an agreement. Hence they removed to Galatch, and the preliminaries of peace were at length ſigned, the 9th of January 1791, by prince Repnin and the grand vizir. The definitive treaty, concluded at Yaſſy, ſoon after followed*.

It has been calculated that in this war Auſtria loſt 130,000 ſoldiers, and expended three hundred millions of florins. — Ruſſia loſt 200,000 men, and expended two hundred millions of rubles. — The Turks loſt 330,000 men, and expended two hundred and fifty millions of piaſtres.

Sweden had expended ſeventy millions of rix-dollars, and loſt nine ſhips of the line, four frigates, and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels of war.

After ſigning the treaty, Bezborodko declared that the empreſs gave up her claim to the

* See the Appendix to this volume, No. xxi.

twelve

twelve millions of piaſtres which the Porte had juſt ſtipulated to pay her as an indemnity for the expences of the war. The ottoman plenipotentiaries juſtly teſtified their admiration of an act of generoſity ſo truly imperial.

Prince Potemkin had not the good fortune to conclude the peace between Ruſſia and the Porte. He had repaired to the congreſs of Yaſſy: but, being ſoon after attacked with an epidemical fever which was then rife at that place, he was unable to attend much to the negotiations that were carrying on. As ſoon as the empreſs had intelligence that he was ſick, ſhe ſent off to him two of the moſt experienced phyſicians of Peterſburg*. He diſdained their advice, and would follow no regimen. He carried even his intemperance to an uncommon height, his ordinary breakfaſt was the greater part of a ſmoke-dried gooſe from Hamburgh, ſlices of hung-beef or ham, drinking with it a prodigious quantity of wine and Dantzick-liqueurs, and afterwards dined with equal voracity. He never controlled his appetites in any kind of gratification. He frequently had his favourite ſterlet-ſoup, at ſeaſons when that fiſh is ſo enormouſly dear, that this ſoup alone, which might

* The doctors Tinmann and Maſſot.

be conſidered only as the overture to his dinner, ſtood him in 300 rubles. Having mentioned his ſterlet-ſoup, it is impoſſible to refrain from relating an anecdote on that ſubject here. Being at Yaſſy, the prince had promiſed ſome of the women that went about with him every where, and formed his court, a ſoup of this kind, or perhaps, in one of thoſe whims which were ſo common with him, he had a mind to it himſelf; but as the capital maker of it was at Peterſburg, he diſpatched a major to travel poſt, with orders to have a large turreen of it made: which he did accordingly, and brought it with him, well luted. Now let the reader judge of the expence this fancy put him to: the cook, as we may imagine, made a greater quantity of it than was wanted for the prince, and ate the remainder with his friends*; nay, we may be very ſure that he ate it better than the prince, to whom it muſt have come ſomewhat leſs freſh, after having travelled near 2000 verſts. This anecdote may likewiſe ſerve as a ſpecimen of the buſineſs in which majors were ſometimes employed by him, and conſequently of the conſideration in which they muſt have been held. He has frequently ſent his officers from the Krimea

* It was by one of thoſe friends that the ſtory got abroad.

or

or from Krementſchuk, to Peterſburg and even to Riga, for oyſters or china-oranges, on their firſt arrival at thoſe ports.

With this ſort of diet it is no wonder that he perceived his diſtemper to be daily gaining ground, but he thought to get well by removing from Yaſſy. Accordingly he reſolved to ſet out for Nicolayeff, a town which he had built at the confluence of the Ingoul with the Bohg. Scarcely had he gone three leagues of his journey when he found himſelf much worſe. He alighted from his carriage in the midſt of the highway, threw himſelf on the graſs, and died * under a tree,

* Prince Potemkin died the 15th of October 1791, at the age of 52. From Yaſſy his remains were tranſported to Kerſon, where they were inhumed, and the empreſs allotted a hundred thouſand rubles for the erection of a mauſoleum over them.—Having often had occaſion to ſpeak of the dignities and the titles of this extraordinary perſonage, we inſert an abridgment of them here:—Knight of the principal orders of Pruſſia, of Sweden, of Poland, and of all the orders of Ruſſia; field-marſhal, commander in chief of all the armies of Ruſſia; chief general of the cavalry; grand admiral of the fleets of the Euxine, of the ſea of Azoff, and of the Caſpian; ſenator, and preſident of the college of war; governor-general of Ekatarinoſlauf and of Taurida; adjutant-general and actual chamberlain to the empreſs; inſpector-general of the armies; colonel of the preobajenſki guards; chief of the corps of horſe guards; colonel of the

a tree, in the arms of the counteſs Branicka, his favourite niece.

At firſt a report was ſpread, as uſual on the death of men of extraordinary character, that the prince had been poiſoned. His body, on being brought to Yaſſy, was therefore opened, but not the ſmalleſt indication was diſcoverable that might juſtify ſuch a ſuſpicion.

As to what farther might be ſaid of prince Potemkin, we ſhall add nothing of ourſelves; but be content with inſerting here the picture drawn of him by one * who lived a long time in

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regiment of cuiraſſiers of his name, of the dragoons of Peterſburg, and the grenadiers of Ekatarinoſlauf; chief of all the manufactories of arms and the founderies of cannon; grand hetman of the koſaks, &c.

* M. L. P. Ségur, formerly ambaſſador at Peterſburg, not leſs diſtinguiſhed for his literary than his political talents. Le comte de Ségur wrote under the empreſs's picture, juſt after her return from the Krim, the following lines:

Reconnois vers le nord l'aimant qui nous attire
Cet heureux conquérant, profond legiſlateur,
Femme aimable, grand homme, & que l'envie admire,
Qui, parcourt ſes états, y verſe le bonheur.
Maitre en l'art de regner, ſavante en l'art d'écrire,
Repandant la lumière, écartant les erreurs;
Si le ſort n'avoit pu lui donner un empire,
Elle auroit eu toujours un trône dans nos cœurs.

habits

habits of intimacy with him, and was ſo obliging as to delineate it at our ſollicitation.

" Prince Gregory Alexandrovitch Potemkin was one of the moſt extraordinary men of his times; but in order to have played ſo conſpicuous a part, he muſt have been in Ruſſia, and have lived in the reign of Catharine II. In any other country, in any other times, with any other ſovereign, he would have been miſplaced; and it was a ſingular ſtroke of chance that created this man for the period that tallied with him, and brought together and combined all the circumſtances with which he could tally.

" In his perſon were collected the moſt oppoſite defects and advantages of every kind. He was avaricious and oſtentatious, deſpotic and popular, inflexible and beneficent, haughty and obliging, politic and confiding, licentious and ſuperſtitious, bold and timid, ambitious and indiſcreet. Laviſh of his bounties to his relations, his miſtreſſes, and his favourites, yet frequently paying neither his houſehold nor his creditors. His conſequence always depended on a woman, and he was always unfaithful to her. Nothing could equal the activity of his mind, nor the indolence of his body. No dangers could appal his courage; no difficulties force him to abandon his projects. But

the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe always brought on diſguſt.

"He wearied the empire by the number of his poſts and the extent of his power. He was himſelf fatigued with the burden of his exiſtence; envious of all that he did not do, and ſick of all that he did. Reſt was not grateful to him, nor occupation pleaſing. Every thing with him was deſultory; buſineſs, pleaſure, temper, carriage. In every company he had an embarraſſed air, and his preſence was a reſtraint on every company. He was moroſe to all that ſtood in awe of him, and careſſed all ſuch as accoſted him with familiarity.

"Ever promiſing, ſeldom keeping his word, and never forgetting any thing. None had read leſs than he; few people were better informed. He had talked with the ſkilful in all profeſſions, in all the ſciences, in every art. None better knew how to draw forth and appropriate to himſelf the knowledge of others. In converſation he would have aſtoniſhed a ſcholar, an artiſt, an artizan, and a divine. His information was not deep, but it was very extenſive. He never dived into a ſubject, but he ſpoke well on all ſubjects.

"The

" The inequality of his temper was productive of an inconceivable oddity in his deſires, in his conduct, and in his manner of life. One while he formed the project of becoming duke of Courland; at another he thought of beſtowing on himſelf the crown of Poland. He frequently gave intimations of an intention to make himſelf a biſhop or even a ſimple monk. He built a ſuperb palace, and wanted to ſell it before it was finiſhed. One day he would dream of nothing but war; and only officers, Tartars, and Koſaks were admitted to him: the next day he was buſied only with politics; he would partition the ottoman empire, and put in agitation all the cabinets of Europe. At other times, with nothing in his head but the court, dreſſed in a magnificent ſuit, covered with ribbons preſented him by every potentate, diſplaying diamonds of extraordinary magnitude and brilliance, he was giving ſuperb entertainments without any cauſe.

" He was ſometimes known for a month, and in the face of all the town, to paſs whole evenings at the apartments of a young female, ſeeming to have alike forgot all buſineſs and all decorum. Sometimes alſo, for ſeveral weeks ſucceſſively, ſhut up in his room with his nieces and ſeveral men of his intimates, he would lounge on a ſopha, without ſpeaking, playing at cheſs, or at

cards, with his legs bare, his ſhirt collar unbuttoned, in a morning gown, with a thoughtful front, his eyebrows knit, and preſenting to the view of ſtrangers who came to ſee him, the figure of a rough and ſqualid Koſak.

" All theſe ſingularities often put the empreſs out of humour, but rendered him more intereſting to her. In his youth he had pleaſed her by the ardour of his paſſion, by his valour, and by his maſculine beauty. Being arrived at maturity, he charmed her ſtill by flattering her pride, by calming her apprehenſions, by confirming her power, by careſſing her fancies of Oriental Empire, the expulſion of the barbarians, and the reſtoration of the grecian republics.

" At eighteen, an under-officer in the horſe-guards, he perſuaded, on the day of the revolution, his corps to take arms, and preſented to Catharine his cockade as an ornament for her ſword. Soon after, become the rival of Orloff, he performed, for his ſovereign, whatever the moſt romantic paſſion could inſpire. He put out his eye to free it from a blemiſh which diminiſhed his beauty. Baniſhed by his rival, he ran to meet death in battle, and returned with glory. A ſucceſsful lover, he quickly ſhook off the hypocritical farce, whoſe cataſtrophe held out to him the proſpect of an obſcure diſaſter.

He

He himſelf gave favourites to his miſtreſs, and became her confidant, her friend, her general, and her miniſter.

" Panin was preſident of the council, and was a ſtickler for the alliance of Pruſſia. Potemkin perſuaded his miſtreſs, that the friendſhip of the emperor would be of more uſe to her in realiſing her plans againſt the Turks. He connected her with Joſeph II. and thereby furniſhed himſelf with the means of conquering the Krimea and the country of the Nogay Tartars, which depended upon it. Reſtoring to theſe regions their ſonorous and antient names, creating a maritime force at Kerſon and Sevaſtopol, he perſuaded Catharine to come and admire herſelf this new ſcene of his glory. Nothing was ſpared for rendering this journey renowned to the lateſt poſterity. Thither were conveyed, from all parts of the empire, money, proviſions, and horſes. The highways were illuminated. The Boryſthenes was covered with magnificent gallies. A hundred and fifty thouſand ſoldiers were newly equipped. The Koſaks were brought together: the Tartars were diſciplined. Deſarts were peopled for the occaſion; and palaces were raiſed in the trackleſs wild. The nakedneſs of the plains of the Krimea was diſguiſed by villages built on purpoſe,

poſe, and enlivened by fireworks. Chains of mountains were illuminated. Fine roads were opened by the army. Howling wilderneſſes were transformed into engliſh gardens. The king of Poland came to pay homage to her who had crowned him, and who afterwards ſtruck him from the throne. The emperor Joſeph II. came himſelf to attend the triumphal progreſs of the empreſs Catharine; and the reſult of this brilliant journey was another war, which the Engliſh and the Pruſſians impolitically inſtigated the Turks to undertake, and which was only a freſh inſtrument to the ambition of Potemkin, by affording him an occaſion to conquer Otchakoff, which remained to Ruſſia, and to obtain the grand ribbon of St. George, the only decoration that was wanting to his vanity. But theſe latter triumphs were the term of his life. He died in Moldavia, almoſt by a ſudden ſtroke; and his death, lamented by his nieces and by a ſmall number of friends, concerned only his rivals, who were eager to divide his ſpoils, and was very ſoon followed by a total oblivion.

" Like the rapid paſſage of thoſe ſhining meteors which aſtoniſh us by their luſtre, but are empty as air, Potemkin began every thing, completed nothing, diſordered the finances, diſorganized the

the army, depopulated his country, and enriched it with other deſerts. The fame of the empreſs was increaſed by his conqueſts. The admiration they excited was for her; and the hatred they raiſed for her miniſter. Poſterity, more equitable, will perhaps divide between them both the glory of the ſucceſſes and the ſeverity of the reproaches. It will not beſtow on Potemkin the title of a great man; but it will mention him as an extraordinary perſon; and, to draw his picture with accuracy, he might be repreſented as a real emblem, as the living image of the ruſſian empire.

" For, in fact, he was coloſſal like Ruſſia. In his mind, as in that country, were cultivated diſtricts and deſart plains. It alſo partook of the aſiatic, of the european, of the tartarian, and the koſak; the rudeneſs of the eleventh century, and the corruption of the eighteenth; the ſurface of the arts, and the ignorance of the cloiſters; an outſide of civilization and many traces of barbariſm. In a word, if we might hazard ſo bold a metaphor, even his two eyes, the one open and the other cloſed, reminded us of the Euxine always open, and the northern ocean, ſo long ſhut up with ice.

" This portrait may appear gigantic: but thoſe who knew Potemkin will bear witneſs to its truth.

truth. That man had great defects: but without them, perhaps, he would neither have got the maſtery of his ſovereign, nor that of his country. He was made by chance preciſely ſuch as he ought to be for preſerving ſo long his power over ſo extraordinary a woman."

CHAP. XIV.

State of the court of Peterſburg at the death of prince Potemkin.—Inſurrection of Koſciuſko.—Laſt partition of Poland.—Aſſaſſination of Guſtavus III.—Death of Leopold II.—French Emigrants in Ruſſia.—Of Plato Zuboff and his brothers.—Treaty concluded with Great Britain.—Conſpiracy of Armfeldt.—Journey of Guſtavus Adolphus to St. Peterſburg.—Conqueſts in Perſia.—Death of Catharine II.—Statement of the preſents that were received by her favourites.—Forces, expences, and revenues of Ruſſia.—1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796.

1792. THE empreſs, when death had raviſhed Lanſkoï from her, ſhut herſelf up in her apartment, and, giving way to her grief, was ſo indifferent to the world, that ſhe was diſpoſed to let herſelf die by inanition. On hearing of the death

death of Potemkin, ſhe likewiſe ſhut herſelf up; but it was only for employing herſelf in the adminiſtration of the empire. She was buſy for fifteen hours together, and divided among her miniſters the direction of the affairs which had belonged to Potemkin.

Count Bezborodko was ſent to the congreſs at Yaſſy, and concluded the peace, as related in the foregoing chapter; and at his return, being at the head of the college of foreign affairs, he at firſt poſſeſſed a very extenſive influence.

The favourite Plato Zuboff, who till now had been an utter ſtranger to buſineſs, was deſirous of bearing a part in the miniſtry, and of taking on himſelf the direction. On this ſubject he aſked advice of the intriguing Markoff, who ſoon became his flatterer, and readily undertook to be his guide in the career of politics. Markoff was recompenſed for it by the entire confidence of the favourite and that of the ſovereign. They formed their conciliabulum, in which they treated of the moſt important affairs, and from which they excluded Bezborodko; who, without being preciſely diſgraced, loſt conſiderably of his influence *.

* Till Zuboff, the favourites had never been publicly employed in ſtate affairs; and it is the general opinion that it would have been more advantageous for thoſe affairs, if they had been made to wait for his ſucceſſor.

It

It was in one of theſe conciliabula, compoſed of Zuboff, Markoff, the miniſter at war Nicolaï Soltikoff, and ſome others, that the annihilation of Poland, long ſince propoſed by Catharine, was reſolved on. That princeſs wiſhed for it as an offering to her pride and her vengeance. Her favourites and her greedy miniſters had been promoting it with great aſſiduity, in the hopes of obtaining a ſhare in the rich ſpoils of the unhappy Poles.

The empreſs could never forgive that nation for either the act of the diet of 1788 *, or the alliance of Pruſſia accepted in contempt of her own, or, above all, the conſtitution of 1791 †. Big with theſe ideas of revenge, ſhe gave orders to Bulgakoff, her miniſter at Warſaw, ſolemnly to declare war againſt Poland.

The diet being aſſembled, received this declaration with a majeſtic calmneſs, which was rapidly ſucceeded by the generous enthuſiaſm excited by the ardour of ſelf-defence. The ſentiments of the diet were diffuſed over all the nation. The king himſelf was poſſeſſed by them, or rather pretended to be ſo; and the Poles had the weakneſs to believe, that, having abandoned his former ſervility to Ruſſia, and

* Which abrogated the conſtitution dictated by violence in 1775.

† Decreed at Warſaw the 3d of May.

his

his cuſtomary indolence, he was becoming the defender of liberty. An army was collected in haſte, and the command of it given to prince Joſeph Poniatoffsky, whoſe inexperience and frivolous purſuits were but ill-ſuited to the management of ſo weighty a charge.

The Poles could have oppoſed the deſigns of Catharine with an army of 50,000 men: but they never yet could be brought to unite their forces; and their different corps were ſoon after preſſed between an army of 80,000 Ruſſians, who fell back from Beſſarabia upon the territory which extends along the Bohg, another of 10,000 collected in the environs of Kieff, and a third of 30,000, which had penetrated into Lithuania.

We ſhall not here attempt to draw the picture of the various battles that drenched the plains of Poland with blood, and which, notwithſtanding ſome advantages obtained by the Poles, conſumed the greater part of their troops. It was then that Thaddeus Koſciuſko *, who as yet was nothing more than one of the lieutenants of young Joſeph Poniatoffsky, diſplayed talents that juſtly obtained him the confidence of the nation, the

* We have been told by a poliſh gentleman, that this name ſhould be written Koſchieffsky.

hatred of the Ruſſians, and the eſteem of Europe.

During all this time, Catharine, not truſting alone to the power of her own arms, had been negotiating with unremitted aſſiduity. She propoſed the definitive partition of Poland to Frederic William, who was undoubtedly no leſs deſirous of it than herſelf. She ſecretly won over to her views the two brothers Kaſſakoffsky, the hetman Branicky, Rejevuſky, and particularly Felix Potocky *, who perhaps, while he was flattering himſelf with the hopes of mounting the throne of Poland, became only the ſlave of Ruſſia. In a word, ſhe inſiſted that Staniſlaus Auguſtus ſhould make a public declaration, that it was neceſſary to yield to the ſuperiority of the ruſſian arms.

That monarch had the deplorable courage to ſubmit himſelf to this indignity: but he was not on that account treated by the empreſs with greater indulgence.

1793. The confederation of the partizans of Ruſſia aſſembled at Grodno, and had the humiliation to ſee the ruſſian general proudly ſeating himſelf under the canopy of the throne

* He put himſelf at the head of the confederation of Targoviſka in favour of the Ruſſians.

which

which he was about to overturn. The ruſſian miniſter, at the ſame time, publiſhed * a manifeſto, in which he declared that his ſovereign would incorporate with her domains all the territory of Poland which her arms had conquered.

The king of Pruſſia, in concert with Catharine, had already marched an army into Poland.

The Ruſſians, diſperſed about the provinces of that kingdom, committed depredations and ravages of which hiſtory furniſhes but few examples. Warſaw became likewiſe the theatre of their exceſſes. The ruſſian general Igelſtrom, who governed all in that city, connived at the diſorders of his ſoldiers, and made the wretched inhabitants feel the whole weight of his arrogance and barbarity. The defenders of Poland had been obliged to diſperſe †. Their property was confiſcated; their families reduced to ſervitude. Goaded by ſo many calamities, they once more took the reſolution to free their country from the oppreſſion of the Ruſſians. Some of them

* The 9th of April.—This miniſter was called Sievers.

† Some of them were even arreſted; and Bonneau, the french ſecretary of legation, was carried of, and conducted to Siberia.

aſſembled, and ſent an invitation to Koſciuſko to come and put himſelf at their head.

That general had retired to Leipſic, with Hugh Kolontay, Zajonchek, and Ignatius Potocky, a man of great knowledge and ſagacity, a ſincere friend to his country, and in all reſpects the oppoſite of his couſin Felix. Theſe four Poles heſitated not a moment in giving their approbation to the reſolution adopted by their honeſt countrymen: but they were ſenſible that, in order to ſucceed, they muſt begin by giving liberty to the peaſants, who till then had been treated in Poland like beaſts of burthen.

Koſciuſko and Zajonchek repaired, with all expedition, to the frontiers of Poland. The latter proceeded to Warſaw, where he had conferences with the chiefs of the conſpirators. A banker, named Kapuſtas, a bold and artful man, made himſelf reſponſible for the inhabitants of the capital. He ſaw likewiſe ſeveral officers, who declared their deteſtation of the ruſſian yoke. All, in ſhort, was ripe for an inſurrection, when the ruſſian commanders, to whom Koſciuſko's preſence on the frontiers had given umbrage, forced him to poſtpone it for a time.

To deceive the diſtruſt of the Ruſſians, Koſciuſko went into Italy; and Zajonchek repaired to Dreſden, whither Ignatius Potocky and Kolontay had retired, but all at once Zajonchek appeared again at Warſaw. The king himſelf impeached him to the ruſſian general Igelſtrom, who had a conference with him, and ordered him to quit the poliſh territory. No alternative now remained for him but to proceed immediately to action, or to abandon the enterprize altogether. Zajonchek reſolved on the former.

1794. Koſciuſko was recalled from Italy, and arrived at Cracow, where the Poles received him as their deliverer. In ſpite of the orders of the Ruſſians, colonel Madalinſky pertinaciouſly refuſed to licenſe his regiment. Some other officers had joined him. Koſciuſko was proclaimed general of this little army *; and the act of inſurrection was almoſt immediately publiſhed †.

Three hundred peaſants, armed with ſcythes, came and ranged themſelves under the ſtandard of Koſciuſko. That general ſoon found himſelf faced by 7000 Ruſſians, who were put to flight after a vigorous reſiſtance.

* They had 3000 infantry and 1200 horſe.

† The 24th of March.

On hearing at Warſaw of the ſucceſs of Koſciuſko, the ruſſian general Igelſtrom cauſed all thoſe to be arreſted whom he ſuſpected to have any concern in the inſurrection: but theſe meaſures ſerved only the more to irritate the conſpirators. The rebellion broke out*. Two thouſand Ruſſians were put to the ſword. Their general, being beſieged in his houſe, requeſted permiſſion to capitulate; and, profiting by the delay that was granted him, he eſcaped to the pruſſian camp, which lay at a little diſtance from Warſaw.

Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, followed the example of Warſaw: but the triumph of the inſurgents was there leſs terrible. Colonel Jazinſky, who was at their head, conducted himſelf with ſo much ſkill, that he took all the Ruſſians priſoners, without ſhedding a drop of blood. The inhabitants of the cantons of Chelm and of Lublin declared themſelves alſo in a ſtate of inſurrection, and were imitated by three poliſh regiments, who were employed in the ſervice of the Ruſſians.

Some of the principal partizans of Ruſſia, the hetman Kaſſokoffsky, the biſhop his brother

* The 18th of April.

Zabiello,

Zabiello, Ozaroffsky, and Ankvitch, were ſentenced to be hanged, the firſt at Wilna, and the others at Warſaw.

Koſciuſko exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to augment his army. He got recruits among the peaſants; and, to inſpire them with more emulation, he wore their dreſs, ate with them, and diſtributed encouragements among them; but thoſe men, too long degraded in Poland, were not yet deſerving of the liberty that was offered them. They diſtruſted the intentions of the nobles, who, on their ſide, for the moſt part lamented the loſs of their abſurd prerogatives.

Staniſlaus Auguſtus and his partizans augmented ſtill further the ill-will of the nobles, by repreſenting to them the intentions of Koſciuſko as diſaſtrous to them, and by caballing continually in favour of Ruſſia.

In the mean time the empreſs, not ſatisfied with augmenting the number of her troops in Poland, had ſent her beſt generals thither.

After ſeveral battles, in one of which Frederic William, who had advanced to ſupport the Ruſſians, fought at the head of his troops, againſt Koſciuſko, who was ſtriving to prevent the junction of the ruſſian generals, Suvaroff and Ferſen, he was attacked by the latter at Maciejovitch.

jovitch *. His talents, his valour, his deſperation, were unable to prevent the Poles from yielding to numbers. Almoſt the whole of his army were either cut to pieces or obliged to lay down their arms. Himſelf, being covered with wounds, fell ſenſeleſs on the field of battle, and was taken priſoner.

All who were able to eſcape from the conquerors went and ſhut themſelves up in the ſuburb of Prague †, whither they were purſued by general Suvaroff. The ſiege of Prague continued not long. On the morrow of his arrival ‡, the dauntleſs Suvaroff gave the aſſault; and, having made himſelf maſter of the ſuburb, put to the ſword, not only the ſoldiers, but all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Twenty thouſand innocent perſons fell victims to the fury of the ruſſian general. Covered with the blood of theſe unfortunate people, the barbarian entered Warſaw in triumph. Some bands of inſurgents, who were diſperſed in the provinces, made all poſſible haſte to ſurrender. The courts of Peterſburg and Berlin divided at their pleaſure the remainder of un-

* The 4th of October.

† It is a ſuburb of Warſaw, or rather a ſmall town ſituate on one ſide of that capital.

‡ The 2d of November.

happy

happy Poland; and the cruel courtiers of the empreſs ſhared amongſt them the poſſeſſions of a great number of the proſcribed. Staniſlaus Auguſtus was ſent to Grodno, where he was condemned to live obſcurely on a penſion that was granted him by the empreſs; while Repnin, appointed governor of the uſurped provinces, oſtentatiouſly diſplayed the pomp of a ſovereign.

Zajonchek and Kolontay had eſcaped to the auſtrian territory, where the rights of hoſpitality were violated in their perſons, and they were detained in captivity. Koſciuſko, Ignatius Potocky, Kapuſtas, and ſome others, were tranſported to Peterſburg, and ſhut up in dungeons. Among theſe unfortunate men was the young poet Niemchevitch, diſtinguiſhed for his valour and his talents, the friend of Koſciuſko, wounded and made priſoner with him. The blood he had loſt for his country was not the only injury with which Catharine reproached Niemchevitch. He had compoſed verſes againſt her *, in all the boldneſs and energy of ſatire. Her majeſty had him at firſt confined in

* There appeared at Warſaw, not only pieces in verſe and proſe, but caricature prints, in which the empreſs was very much inſulted.

the citadel of Peterſburg, and afterwards ſent him to Schluſſelburg, where he was treated with great ſeverity.

The account of the bloody revolution effected by the brave Koſciuſko has obliged us to defer the recital of ſeveral events: we ſhall here bring them under review.

Impatient to ſee Guſtavus III. ſet out upon his chivalereſque and perilous enterpriſe, Catharine gave orders to count Stackelberg, her miniſter at Stockholm, to promiſe * that monarch 12,000 ruſſian ſoldiers, and an annual ſubſidy of 300,000 rubles, to aſſiſt him in reſtoring to the king of France his entire authority. Certainly it was not the intention of the empreſs to keep this promiſe, which ſhe always found means to elude. She wanted only to accelerate the moment of the confederation of kings, and to excite her rivals to mutual deſtruction.

But Guſtavus had not time to go and conſummate the ruin of his country on the frontiers of France. The nobles of Sweden were for the moſt part always diſcontented with the revolution of 1772, of which they gave a proof in refuſing to fight at Frederikſham. By pardoning their defection, Guſtavus only emboldened them, and ſerved the Ruſſians who were exciting

* In the month of October 1791.

them

them perpetually againſt him. Three young men * at this time reſolved to put him to death, and drew lots for the infamous honour of making the firſt attack on his perſon. A maſquerade, at which Guſtavus was to be preſent, was in favour of their horrid purpoſe. Here the three conſpirators met. Ankarſtrœm ſeized the moment when a group of maſks ſurrounded Guſtavus, and fired a piſtol † into the ſmall of his back. The ſwediſh monarch expired within a few days after ‡. His ſon, Guſtavus Adolphus, a young prince, aged 14 years, ſucceeded to the crown; and the regency was given to the duke of Sudermania.

A ſhort time previous to this, the emperor Leopold II. died at Vienna §, in a manner leſs ſhocking, but almoſt as ſudden, leaving the imperial diadem, the archduchy of Auſtria, and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, to his ſon Francis II.

* The count von Hørn, Ribbing, and Ankarſtrœm.

† Ankarſtrœm was armed with a dentelated poignard, and a pair of piſtols charged with ſeveral pieces of balls, bullets, and little nails. One ſhot of the piſtol completed the dreadful act.

‡ The 29th of March 1791. He had been aſſaſſinated in the night of the 15th of the ſame month.

§ The 1ſt of March 1791.

The

The death of two chiefs of the league of kings againſt France was a diſtreſſing circumſtance to the french emigrants, who fled in great numbers to Peterſburg, to apply for aſſiſtance in troops, which the empreſs failed not to promiſe, but was too wiſe to grant.

Her majeſty, however, took a great intereſt in the revolution that had taken place in France; apprehenſive leſt the principles upon which it was effected might find their way into Ruſſia, and there occaſion ſome combuſtion ſubverſive of the throne. To all the French who ſignified that they were attached to their old form of government, ſhe gave a welcome reception; while ſhe ſeverely proſcribed the reſt. The ambaſſador of France quitted Peterſburg: but as Catharine, while ſhe cenſured the opinions of that miniſter, could not refrain from doing juſtice to his virtues, to his talents, and the amenity of his manners, ſhe ſaid to him, on his taking leave of her: "I am an ariſtocrat; for I muſt "carry on my buſineſs." A little while after ſhe recalled the ambaſſador whom ſhe had at Paris. She refuſed acceſs to her court to the chargé des affaires * of France, and prohibited her miniſters from conferring with him. Her

* Genet.

animad-

animadverſion againſt the French extended even to colonel l'Harpe, who was employed in the education of the two young princes Alexander and Conſtantine, and who, as a Swiſs and a philoſopher, bore in his heart the love of liberty. That eſtimable and amiable man had often been ſubject to attacks from the hatred of the emigrants; but his prudence, and the well-founded reſpect that was ſhewn him by the grand duke, ſupported him againſt their intrigues *.

Catharine obliged all the French that were in her dominions to take an oath of allegiance to the pretender to the crown of France, and to ſwear an immortal hatred to the french republic. Thoſe who refuſed were allowed only an interval of ſix weeks to ſettle their affairs, and were afterwards rigorouſly forced to quit the territory of Ruſſia, where the greater part left behind

* The principal emigrants at that time in Peterſburg were, count Eſterhazy, Bombelles, Saint-Prieſt, Choiſeul-Gouffier, M. Calonne, the count d'Artois, Roger Damas, d'Eſcars, the ſwiſs colonel de Roll, the biſhop of Arras, and Senac de Meilhan. It is a curious fact, that when the ſon of count Eſterhazy appeared at court, the empreſs cauſed the patriotic ſongs of the French to be ſung to the boy; and thus the hermitage ſometimes reſounded with the air *ça ira* and the *carmagnole*.

them

them debts, which their creditors have probably long ſince regarded as deſperate *.

The court of Peterſburg was at this time divided into two parties; the one having at its head the old count Oſtermann, the Vorontzoffs, and Bezborodko, who endeavoured to ſhelter themſelves under the name of the grand duke, but whom that prince had always the prudence not to avow, and of whoſe intrigues he either was, or at leaſt feigned to be ignorant. The other party was that of Zuboff, of Markoff, and of Nicolaï Ivanovitch Soltikoff, devoted to the favourite †.

This favourite was beſides ſupported by his father, his three brothers, and his ſiſter, all amply provided for by the bounties of the ſovereign. It is neceſſary here to give ſome account of that family.

The father of the favourite Zuboff had been vice-governor of a province, and in that quality entruſted with the adminiſtration of the finances, the magazines, and the manufactories dependent

* For the principal paſſages of the ukauſe publiſhed on this occaſion, the reader is referred to the Appendix to the preſent volume, No. xiii.

† Count Nicolaï Ivanovitch Soltikoff is now preſident of the college of war.

on

on it. Theſe eſtabliſhments were burnt, not without ſuſpicion of its having been done for the ſame purpoſes as many other fires have happened in Ruſſia, namely, for ſaving the managers the trouble of balancing their accounts. However that be, this conflagration was the means of procuring the vice-governor an annual income of 60,000 rubles. After the elevation of his ſon, Zuboff obtained the important place of procureur-general of the ſenate; in which office he was guilty of ſo much malverſation, that even his ſon was ſo aſhamed of him, that he reſolved to remove him, and procured him the appointment of ſenator in one of the departments of Moſco, where he died, leaving behind him an immenſe fortune.

Nicolaï Zuboff, eldeſt ſon of this extortioner, was a man much eſteemed. He ſerved in Poland, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery, and married the daughter of field-marſhal Suvaroff.

Valerian Zuboff, brigadier and major of the guards, was alſo an officer in the army in Poland, where he had a leg carried away by a cannon-ball. He, for ſome time, ſhared the favour of the ſovereign with his brother Plato, and afterwards had the command of the army that marched againſt the Perſians.

Alexander

Alexander Zuboff, chamberlain to the empreſs, a man without talents, but ambitious, was ſon-in-law of the rich prince Vaſemſkoï, who had united in his perſon the three lucrative poſts of procureur-general of the ſenate of Peterſburg, miniſter of finance, and miniſter of the interior.

Laſtly, Plato Zuboff, the lover of Catharine, decorated with the title of prince, and grand maſter of the artillery, enjoyed all the authority formerly poſſeſſed by Orloff, Lanſkoï, and Potemkin. Miniſters, generals, ambaſſadors, were ſeen reſorting to the toilette of this favourite *, to pay humbly their court to him, ſure that theſe acts of condeſcending complaiſance were the moſt effectual means of obtaining the approbation of the empreſs.

The ſiſter of prince Zuboff was married to the chamberlain Jerebzoff. This lady, handſome and very gallant, employed a part of her

* One example may ſuffice to ſhew the reverence in which the favourite is held by the Ruſſians. Zuboff kept a little monkey, of that ſpecies called the Sapajou, full of tricks and very troubleſome, who was offenſive to every body, and whom every body careſſed, in order to pleaſe his maſter. One day, this animal jumped on the head of a general officer, highly dreſſed and powdered; and, after having well touzled his hair, voided his excrement upon it, without ſo far ruffling the ſpirit of the general as to make him venture to complain of the affront.

revenues

revenues in acts of beneficence, and often failed in an assignation with a lover, to go and relieve the distressed. She abhorred the court, was an enemy to all etiquette, and avoided great companies. The british minister attached himself to her, and, through her influence joined to that of the favourite, succeeded in pacifying the empress, whom the late turkish war had irritated against the court of London.

The intimate confidant of Zuboff was one of his relations, a volatile but sensible young man, to whom he had given a place of chamberlain, and whose advice he often followed.

Zuboff had besides great confidence in a Raguzan, named Altesti. Placed at first in the counting-house of a free merchant of Constantinople, Altesti got acquainted with the russian minister Bulgakoff, who properly appreciating the bold and pliant temper of this young Italian, attached him to his legation, and brought him to Warsaw. The agreeable manners of Altesti attracted the notice of some polish ladies of great consideration, who procured for him the office of envoy to Petersburg, where he caballed with equal address and ingratitude against his patron, and at last succeeded so far as to get him recalled. At the same time he found means to interest Zuboff in his behalf, who took him as his secretary,

tary *, and admitted him into the myſteries of his little conclave.

Among the perſons of whom we are ſpeaking, were ſeveral who had conſiderable influence in the cabinet of Peterſburg, but not ſo much as to direct its buſineſs at their pleaſure. The empreſs kept over them a vigilant eye; and notwithſtanding her advanced age, ſhe employed herſelf ſome hours every day with her miniſters, and decided of herſelf in all important affairs.

About this time the empreſs concluded a new treaty of commerce with Great Britain †; that which had expired in 1786 not having been renewed. Her majeſty at the ſame time publiſhed two edicts, prohibiting the importation of french merchandize into her dominions. This was a double triumph for the Engliſh; as the new treaty of commerce extended their privileges, and they reaſonably hoped to be able to ſubſtitute the ſtuffs of India and their own manufacture, for thoſe of Lyons, and the wines of Madeira and Oporto for the wines of France.

* Zuboff had, for the department of war, another ſecretary, named Graboffsky, who had been in the ſecretariate of prince Potemkin under Popoff; and in that of foreign affairs, the Lorrainer Aubert.

† It was ſigned the 25th of March 1793.

They obtained ſtill more. Catharine promiſed ſhortly to join their fleet with a ruſſian ſquadron; and orders were even ſent to accelerate the armaments at Cronſtadt. Stackelberg preſſed the court of Stockholm not to keep the neutrality with France; and Krudener, animated with the ſame ſpirit, tormented with his ſollicitations the court of Copenhagen. But the Swedes and the Danes, who only conſidered the advantages of their commerce, remained inflexible.

The grand ſignior ſent to Peterſburg an ambaſſador*, offering magnificent preſents to the empreſs and her miniſters†; and her majeſty at the ſame time ſent off to Conſtantinople general Kutuzoff, with the title of ambaſſador extraordinary. Kutuzoff employed both prayers and menaces to determine the Porte to expel all the French from the ottoman territory; but in vain. The divan, exaſperated at the deſertion of the Engliſh, who had abandoned them in the laſt war, and being convinced of their true intereſts by the french miniſter Deſcorches, preſerved the reſpect due to a nation whom they regarded as their moſt antient and faithful ally.

* Raſchid Mehemet effendi.

† Among theſe preſents was a complete tent ornamented with pearls, and eſtimated to be worth 30,000 rubles.

In the mean time, the ambaſſador of Ruſſia at Stockholm, and the ſwediſh party attached to that power, were perpetually caballing to deprive the duke of Sudermania of the regency, and to give the young king a council to adminiſter the government under the protection of the empreſs. A conſpiracy was even formed, which was detected at the very moment when it was ready to break out; but for giving a juſt idea of it, it will be neceſſary to revert to a former period.

In 1782, Guſtavus III. made a teſtament, by which he provided, that, in caſe of his deceaſe, his ſon Guſtavus Adolphus, conformably to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, ſhould not aſſume the reins of government till arrived at the age of one and twenty. When the war broke out between him and Ruſſia, he made a ſecond, by which the majority of Guſtavus Adolphus was fixed at 18, on account of the unexpected progreſs which that young prince had made in his ſtudies. By theſe teſtaments the regency was given to the duke of Sudermania, together with all the prerogatives of royalty, except that of creating nobles and conferring knighthood.

When the phyſicians had declared to Guſtavus III. that his death was inevitable from the wound

wound he had received of the traitor Ankarſtrœm, the monarch made a third will, in which, ſtill leaving the regency to the duke of Sudermania, he obliged him to take into his council baron von Armfeldt and baron von Taube. As ſoon as the king was dead, this codicil was preſented to the duke, who read it, and then threw it into the fire.

No mention was therefore made of any will, except the two former, which, on their being preſented to the tribunal of the court, bore all the marks of authenticity, and in purſuance of which the duke of Sudermania was declared regent. That prince immediately recalled the baron von Reuterholm, who, on the breaking up of the diet of 1789, had retired into Italy; and, without any other title, Reuterholm became the principal counſellor, or rather the prime miniſter of the regent.

Almoſt all the friends of Guſtavus III. were devoted to Ruſſia, and had diſperſed. Armfeldt paſſed into Italy, becauſe, contrary to his inclination, he had been appointed miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Naples. But, though at a diſtance from Stockholm, that miniſter was not the leſs active in endeavouring to deprive the duke of Sudermania of the

regency, and even of his life. He kept up a regular correſpondence with the court of Peterſburg, by means of the Raguſan Alteſti, ſecretary to Zuboff, and drew up the plan of a conſpiracy, in which were comprehended the friends whom he had left in Sweden. He now thought himſelf on the point of ſucceeding. But all his ſteps had been obſerved by ſpies, who followed him every where: his papers were taken from him, ſent into Sweden, and laid before the tribunal of the court, who immediately arreſted his accomplices, and brought them to judgment.

1795. The greater part of the papers relative to this trial were printed, and proved inconteſtibly to the ſwediſh nation, that the conſpirators were acting in concert with Ruſſia, and relied on the aſſiſtance of that power.

Theſe circumſtances were not adapted to the reſtoration of harmony between the two courts. They rather widened the breach from day to day; and the notes which the ruſſian miniſters ſoon after preſented to the court of Stockholm were conceived in menacing terms; to which the ſwediſh miniſtry always replied with firmneſs and decency.

The regent had reſolved to bring about a match between the young king of Sweden and a princeſs

of

of the houſe of Mecklenburg. The marriage was even agreed on, and the princeſs of Mecklenburg declared future queen of Sweden. At this the empreſs teſtified great diſpleaſure; pretending that Guſtavus III. had promiſed her the hand of his ſon for one of the young grand ducheſſes; and ſhe looked upon the failure in the execution of that promiſe as a perſonal affront to her. Accordingly, when count Schverin was commiſſioned to go and announce at Peterſburg the marriage of the young king, Catharine, who had been previouſly apprized of the object of his miſſion, diſpatched a courier to meet him on the borders of Finland, to forbid him to enter Ruſſia *.

Soon after this, the empreſs made choice of the baron von Budberg to be her majeſty's chargé d'affaires at Stockholm; who, by an affected contempt for the court of Sweden, gave that cabinet room to ſuſpect that this agent had been particularly ſelected for that purpoſe on account of his inexperienced age and his exceſſive pride: for, if it had been recommended to him to ſhew a conſiderable degree of ſtatelineſs and

* The regent contented himſelf with cauſing to be publiſhed, on this occaſion, the declaration which the reader may ſee in the Appendix to this volume, No. xiv.

inſolence, he nevertheleſs certainly exceeded his orders *.

1796. The miſunderſtanding between Sweden and Ruſſia ſeemed now to be arrived at its height, when a french emigrant, named Chriſtin, made his appearance at Stockholm †. He had come from England to Gothemburg, and gave out that he was charged with a miſſion from the count d'Artois to the empreſs of Ruſſia. But this was only the better to conceal the real object of his journey, as it was afterwards well known that he had ſecret orders to incline the regent to an accommodation with the empreſs. His negotiation was attended with ſucceſs; and ſoon afterwards general Budberg, uncle of the chargé d'affaires, arrived in Sweden, with the title of ambaſſador from the empreſs.

* In a company where the greater part of the ladies of the court were preſent, and where the men were all uncovered, he was ſo unpolite as to keep his hat on his head. It was previous to his preſentation at court. Accordingly, the day on which he was preſented, the regent ſpoke not a word to him; but, having his horſewhip in his hand, kept ſtriking it repeatedly on his boot, as if his fingers itched to ſtrike elſewhere.

† In the month of January, Chriſtin wore a ſwiſs uniform, and gave out that he was an officer in the ſervice of that nation.

General

General Budberg informed the regent of the intentions of his ſovereign. She requeſted that that prince and baron von Reuterholm would diſpoſe the young king to repudiate the princeſs of Mecklenburg, in order to eſpouſe one of the grand-daughters of Catharine; and that they would moreover engage him not to exact of his conſort a conformity to the law by which the queens of Sweden are bound to adopt the religion of the country: laſtly, ſhe was deſirous that the regent and Reuterholm ſhould accompany the young king to Peterſburg.

Catharine ſpoke: ſhe was obeyed. The regent, with his royal ward *, his miniſter, and a great train of courtiers, repaired to Peterſburg †. The pride of the empreſs was ſatisfied: ſhe now diſplayed nothing more than her magnificence.

The young king ſeemed greatly affected at the benevolence that was ſhewn him by the empreſs; but he was ſtill more ſo at the charms of the grand ducheſs Alexandra. The ſight of her made him eaſily forget the princeſs of Meck-

* The young king Guſtavus Adolphus took the title of count von Haga, and the regent that of count von Vaſa.

† They arrived there the 24th of Auguſt.

lenburg: propoſals of marriage were made on the ſpot, and the day fixed for the ceremony of the eſpouſals, which was to be followed by a grand entertainment. When the contract was preſented to the king for his ſignature, he obſerved, to the great aſtoniſhment of the imperial family, that the fundamental laws of Sweden obliged him to require, that the princeſs ſhould previouſly change her religion; and that, without this condition, he could not put his hand to the contract.

Catharine at firſt had recourſe to ſollicitations and flatteries to perſuade the young monarch to ſign the deed. But, perceiving that they were ineffectual towards bringing him to alter his reſolution, ſhe coldly roſe up, and retired. She was followed by the grand duke, the grand ducheſs, and their children. Nothing more was heard of the entertainment: and on the morrow Guſtavus Adolphus and his retinue quitted Peterſburg.

Catharine had conquered, either by her arms or by her intrigues, almoſt one half of Poland, the Krimea, the Kuban, and a part of the frontiers of Turkey. But ſhe had no need of armaments and battles for uſurping another rich and well-peopled country. Her intrigues were ſufficient.

ficient. This country was Courland and Semigallia, where ſtill reigned the feeble ſon * of the famous Biren.

It was long ſince the emiſſaries of Ruſſia had been ſucceſsful in their attempts to gain over ſeveral of the principal barons of Courland, and particularly the counſellor Hoven, an eloquent, complying, and ambitious man. The couriſh nobles † were often attracted to Peterſburg; where the flattering reception of the empreſs, diſtinctions, honours, poſts, and pleaſures, rendered their abode in the imperial reſidence far preferable to continuing in Mittau, and raiſed in them the deſire of being under the ſway of the ſovereign of a vaſt empire, rather than to live in obedience to a duke, the obſcurity of whoſe origin they could not forget, and whom they regarded as their inferior.

For inducing the people to partake in this ſentiment of the nobles, Catharine artfully raiſed a ſpirit of diſſenſion in their minds, and threw out reaſons of alarm. She began by inſtigating the inhabitants of Livonia to inſiſt upon the fulfilment of an ancient convention, by which

* Duke Peter.

† The principal of theſe nobles are the families of Manteufel, Bahr, Klopmann, Korff, Grothaus, Saſs, Igelſtrom, &c.

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the Courlanders were obliged to bring all their merchandizes to Riga: certainly a very ſtrange and hard condition, by which a nation, that had on its coaſts excellent harbours happily ſituated, ſhould be obliged to go, at a great expence, to embark the products of its ſoil in a foreign city. But what cannot force effect? and what will not ambition dare? The quarrel between the Livonians and the Courlanders was not yet terminated, when the empreſs ſent engineers into Courland, to mark out a canal, to facilitate the tranſport of the merchandizes of that country into Livonia. The Courlanders ſeeing this, and fearing leſt they ſhould be ſoon forced to make uſe of this canal, thought it better for them to be protected than oppreſſed by the empreſs, and to be her ſubjects rather than her neighbours.

Catharine, being informed of theſe diſpoſitions, called the duke of Courland to her, under the pretext of having occaſion to confer with him on matters of importance. But no ſooner was that prince at the foot of the throne of the autocratrix of the north, than the ſtates of Courland held an aſſembly. The nobility propoſed to withdraw the country from the ſupremacy of Poland, and to put it under that of Ruſſia. The principal members of the grand council

made a faint oppoſition to this alteration, by obſerving, that before they proceeded to a reſolution, it would be expedient to wait the return of the duke. The oberburgraff Hoven roſe up, and ſpoke a long time in favour of Ruſſia. Some counſellors expreſſed themſelves of his opinion, and others reproached him with treaſon. The diſpute grew warm on both ſides; challenges were reciprocally given, and ſwords were about to be drawn, when the ruſſian general Pahlen appeared in the aſſembly. His preſence reſtored tranquillity. No one preſumed to raiſe his voice againſt Ruſſia; and the propoſal of the nobles was adopted.

The next day * the act was drawn up, by which Courland, Semigallia, and the circle of Pilten, made a formal ſurrender of themſelves to the empreſs of Ruſſia; and it was carried to Peterſburg, where the duke of Courland learnt, from the mouth of his own ſubjects, that they themſelves had deprived him of his dominions †.

* The 18th of March 1795. This ſingular act may be ſeen in the Appendix to this volume, No. xv.

† It ſhould ſeem that the duke was aware of this intended ſpoliation, as he had bought up ſeveral eſtates in Pruſſia, the duchy of Sagan in Sileſia, the domains of Rothenburg, and Frederiksfeldt in Brandenburg. He was already poſſeſſed, in Sileſia, of the counties of Vartenberg, of Balin, and of Goſchutz.

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The empreſs immediately ſent a governor thither.

However, ſome diſcontent remained in Courland: diſcontent brought on proſcription; and the poſſeſſions of the proſcribed were given to the courtiers of Catharine. The favourite Plato Zuboff and his brother Valerian obtained a great part of theſe rich and ſhameful ſpoils.

The acquiſition of Courland was of great value to Ruſſia. That country produces much corn and timber, in both of which a great commerce is carried on; and it has ſeveral ports advantageouſly ſituated in the Baltic. As a country not ſo particularly known to the reſt of Europe as many of its neighbouring ſtates, an account of it here would be highly intereſting, but our limits will not permit. We ſhall only obſerve, that Liebau is a great augmentation to the immenſe wealth of Ruſſia; and that Vindau will doubtleſs become one day the ſtation of her fleets. That port, which is never obſtructed by ice, would be eaſily made able to contain 100 ſhips of the line, which would at any time keep Denmark and Sweden in awe.

Though the peaceful ſovereign of ſo many uſurped dominions, Catharine was perpetually taking freſh meaſures to annex them inſeparably to her eſtates. Prince Repnin and general Toutoulmin

Toutoulmin exacted in her name a new oath of allegiance, the one in Lithuania, the other in Poland *; and the miſerable inhabitants of thoſe countries, who dared to refuſe to ſubmit to that cruel formality, were inſtantly deſpoiled of the heritage of their fathers and driven from their natal ſoil.

The empreſs, who had ſo long given unavailing promiſes of aſſiſtance to the concert of kings againſt France, yielded to the ſollicitations of the favourite Zuboff, to which he had been conſtantly ſtimulated by his ſiſter, the britiſh miniſter, and Eſterhazy. She determined † to join the engliſh navy with a ſquadron of twelve ſhips of the line and eight frigates, the command whereof was given to admiral Hanikoff ‡. But, never making treaties without a view to the benefit of her country, it was ſtipulated on her part that the ſhips ſhould be proviſioned at the expence of her ally, and ſent home in

* The form of the oath to be taken individually by the Lithuanians and the Poles, is inſerted in the Appendix to this volume, No. xvi.

† The 22d of July 1795.

‡ Hanikoff is a very deſerving officer, ſpeaks engliſh remarkably well, and was to have accompanied commodore James Trevenen on the intended voyage of diſcovery, which was laid aſide on the breaking out of the ſwediſh war.

thorough

thorough repair, by which means her raw mariners were diſciplined, and her crazy veſſels, moſtly of fir timber, and which would hardly bear the ſea, were completely refitted.

Catharine had married * her grandſon Alexander with the princeſs Louiſa of Baden-Durlach †; and was now deſirous of giving a ſpouſe to prince Conſtantine. She invited to her court the three daughters of the prince of Saxe-Coburg; and, after having ſome time heſitated in her choice, ſhe determined in favour of the youngeſt, who, on becoming grand ducheſs, took the name of Anna Feodorovna ‡.

But theſe quiet uſurpations, theſe treaties and alliances, were not ſufficient to give full occupation to the mind of Catharine. Inured to conqueſt, ſhe turned her arms againſt Perſia; and, under pretence of defending Lolf-Ali-khan, an offſpring of the race of the ſophis, ſhe wanted to take revenge on Aga-Mahmed and to gain poſſeſſion of the perſian provinces which border on the Caſpian. Her miniſter at Conſtantinople therefore had orders to preſs the Porte to ſecond

* The 21ſt of May 1793.

† On embracing the greek religion, the princeſs Louiſa of Baden-Durlach took the name of Elizabeth Alexievna.

‡ The 14th of February 1796.

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her deſigns. But, although ſtrongly ſupported by the reis-effendi Raſchid-Mehemet, the divan remained immovable.

Valerian Zuboff, at the head of a numerous army, penetrated into the province of Dagheſtan, and advanced to lay ſiege to Derbent. His firſt attack was directed againſt a high tower which defended the place; and, after having made himſelf maſter of it, and put the whole garriſon to the ſword, he was preparing to make an aſſault upon the town. The Perſians, intimidated by the former ſucceſſes and the impetuoſity of the Ruſſians, cried out for quarter; and the commandant, a venerable old man, of the amazing age of 120 years, and the ſame who, at the commencement of the preſent century, had ſurrendered Derbent to Peter I, came now to deliver the keys to Valerian Zuboff.

Aga-Mahmed was advancing with ſuccours to the relief of Derbent, when he heard that the place was already in the hands of the Ruſſians. Valerian Zuboff came forth from the place to offer him battle, in which victory declared for the Perſians, who forced their enemies to return into Derbent. Catharine, being informed of this defeat, immediately gave orders for a body of troops which ſhe had in the Kuban to go and reinforce the army of Valerian Zuboff,

not

not doubting that her general would very ſoon give a total defeat to Aga-Mahmed.

She alſo flattered herſelf with the hopes of obtaining a greater triumph. The new treaty which ſhe had juſt concluded with Great Britain and with Auſtria, ſecured to her the aſſiſtance of thoſe two powers againſt Turkey: in a word, ſhe now reckoned on the full accompliſhment of her darling project, of driving the Ottomans out of Europe and of reigning in Conſtantinople.

In that caſe the vaſt empire of Catharine would have for its frontiers, the thracian Boſphorus to the ſouth, the gulf of Bothnia to the north, the Viſtula to the weſt, and the ſea of Japan to the eaſt.

But death deceived her hopes. On the morning of the 9th of November, ſhe was in good ſpirits, and took her coffee as uſual. Some time after this ſhe retired to her cloſet; where, after remaining a full half hour, the women who waited on her, not ſeeing her return, began to be alarmed; and, on entering the outer room in which it was, they found her ſtretched on the parquet with her feet againſt the door, and ſpeechleſs. Upon this, a meſſenger was diſpatched to Dr. John Rogerſon, her majeſty's chief phyſician, who, judging it to be a fit of apoplexy, ordered her twice to be let blood,

on

on which the empreſs at firſt appeared to be ſomewhat relieved; but ſhe was unable to utter a ſingle word, and at ten o'clock in the evening of the following day, ſhe expired*.

The grand duke was at his country palace of Gatſhina, to which place an officer was ſent off to apprize him of the danger of his mother. He repaired to Peterſburg, and at the inſtant when ſhe ceaſed to breathe, was proclaimed emperor by the name of Paul I.

We ſhall not attempt to trace in new colours the character of Catharine II. The hiſtory we have now been writing ſufficiently diſplays it. To the little that has been ſaid before, we ſhall only ſubjoin a few words on her perſon.

That princeſs had been handſome in her youth, and ſhe preſerved a gracefulneſs and majeſty to the laſt period of her life. She was of a moderate ſtature, but well proportioned; and, as ſhe carried her head very high, ſhe appeared rather tall. She had an open front, an aquiline

* Catharine, through life, had been ſeldom out of order; and her even and cheerful frame of mind perhaps contributed to the preſervation of her health. She ſuffered a little, latterly, by ſwellings in the legs, and was ſometimes ſubject to a trifling colic. She loſt all conſciouſneſs from the moment of her laſt attack.—Her good genius preſerved her from the pains of a lingering illneſs; and ſhe died fortunately as ſhe had always lived.

noſe, an agreeable mouth, and her chin, though long, was not mis-ſhapen. Her hair was auburn, her eyebrows black and rather thick; and her blue eyes * had a gentleneſs which was often affected, but oftener ſtill a mixture of pride. Her phyſiognomy was not deficient in expreſſion; but that expreſſion never diſcovered what was paſſing in the ſoul of Catharine, or rather it ſerved her the better to diſguiſe it.

The empreſs was uſually dreſſed in the ruſſian manner. She wore a green gown †, ſomewhat ſhort, forming in front a kind of veſt, and with cloſe ſleeves reaching to the wriſt. Her hair, ſlightly powdered, flowed upon her ſhoulders, topped with a ſmall cap covered with diamonds. In the latter years of her life ſhe put on a great deal of rouge; for ſhe was ſtill deſirous to prevent the impreſſions of time from being viſible on her face; and ſhe always obſerved the ſtricteſt temperance ‡.

* Several perſons who lived at the court of that princeſs affirm, that Catharine II. had very blue eyes, and not brown, as is ſaid by M. Rulhieres.

† Green is the favourite colour with the Ruſſians. Several of their uniforms are green.

‡ She made but a light breakfaſt, ate moderately at dinner, and never had any ſupper. When ſhe read in foreign prints, that ſhe had a dropſy and a ſcirrhous complaint, and that ſhe could not live long, ſhe affected to laugh at it; but near obſervers aſſert, that ſhe was ſecretly hurt at the time.

We promiſed to give a ſtatement of the preſents received by the favourites of Catharine. The following has been given us by perſons well informed:

	Rubles.
The five brothers ORLOFF received 45,000 peaſants; and in lands, palaces, jewels, plate, and money — — —	17,000,000
VISSENSKY, officer of the guards, about two months in favour — —	300,000
VASSILTSCHIKOFF, ſimple lieutenant of the guards, received, in the 22 months that he was in favour:	
An eſtate with 7000 peaſants upon it, eſtimated at — — —	600,000
In money — — —	100,000
In jewels — — —	60,000
In plate — — — —	50,000
A palace furniſhed — — —	100,000
A penſion of 20,000 rubles per annum, nearly	200,000
Total	1,100,000
The order of St. Alexander Nefsky.	
Prince POTEMKIN received, in the two firſt years, about nine millions.	
He afterwards accumulated immenſe riches. He had great eſtates in Poland, and in all the provinces of Ruſſia. One of his book-caſes was full of gold, diamonds, and notes of the banks of London, Amſterdam, and Venice. His fortune was eſtimated at —	50,000,000

	Rubles.
Zavodoffsky received, in 18 months, lands in Poland with 2000 peaſants, in the Ukraine with 6000, and in Ruſſia with 1800.	
Theſe eſtates were eſtimated at —	1,000,000
He received in money — —	150,000
In plate — — —	50,000
In jewels — — —	80,000
In a penſion on the cabinet of 10,000 rubles a year — — —	100,000
Total	1,380,000
The ribbon of the white eagle of Poland.	
Zoritch received, in one year, the ribbon of the order of the ſword, of Sweden, and that of the white eagle of Poland.	
An eſtate in Poland, of — —	500,000
One in Livonia, of 50 haaks —	100,000
A commandery in Poland, produced 12,000 rubles yearly, valued at — —	120,000
In money — — — —	500,000
In jewels — — —	200,000
Total	1,420,000
Korzakoff received, in 16 months, the ribbon of the white eagle of Poland, the palace of Vaſſiltſchikoff re-purchaſed for him —	100,000
An eſtate with 4000 peaſants —	400,000
In money and jewels — —	150,000
The liquidation of his debts —	100,000
To fit him out for travelling —	100,000
Gratification while on his travels —	70,000
Total	920,000

	Rubles.
Lanskoï received, in eſtates or money	3,000,000
In diamonds — — —	80,000
To pay his debts — — —	80,000
A palace valued at — —	100,000
Total	3,260,000

Moreover, his ſiſter and his couſin were admitted into the number of maids of honour to the empreſs, and received many preſents not brought into the account.

Yermoloff received, in 16 months, the ribbon of the white eagle of Poland.

An eſtate valued at — —	100,000
Another with 3000 peaſants —	300,000
In money — — —	150,000
Total	550,000

Momonoff received, in 26 months, in eſtates	600,000
In money — — —	200,000
In jewels — — —	80,000
Total	880,000

Plato Zuboff was decorated with the title of prince, and with ſeveral ribbons, and appointed grand maſter of the artillery. He received large eſtates in Ruſſia, in Poland, and in Courland. His fortune, excluſive of moveables and jewels, amounts to about 100,000 per annum, and conſequently valued at — — — 2,500,000

His moveables and his jewels —	200,000
Total	2,700,000

	Rubles.
VALERIAN ZUBOFF received great ſums in money, eſtates in Poland and in Courland, and a penſion of 12,000 rubles, payable in gold. The whole may be eſtimated at	800,000
To theſe gifts muſt be added the expenditure of the favourite, eſtimated at 1,250,000 rubles per annum, which, during the 34 years of the reign of Catharine II. amounts to	8,500,000
Sum total	88,820,000

We have ſo often had occaſion to ſpeak of the wars and the conqueſts of Catharine II. that we ſhould not be eaſily excuſed for omitting an account of the forces of her empire, and all the means in her poſſeſſion, independent on her policy and uncommon talents, for eſtabliſhing and enlarging her power. Here follows then a ſuccinct ſtate of the

ARMY.

In 1794 the ruſſian army was compoſed of eight diviſions, each of 50,000 men; and theſe diviſions had their particular generals. 1. The diviſion of FINLAND, commanded by the prince of Anhalt, kinſman to the empreſs. 2. The diviſion of LIVONIA, commanded by field-marſhal Ivan Soltikoff. 3. The diviſion of Moſco,

Mosco, commanded by general Prozoroffsky. 4. The diviſion of WHITE RUSSIA, under the orders of general Mikelſon, conqueror of the rebel Pugatſheff. 5. The diviſion of the UKRAINE, commanded by field-marſhal Suvaroff Rimnikſky. 6. The diviſion of CAUCASUS, under orders of general Goudovitch, who took from the Turks the fortreſſes of Anapa and of Sudyuk-kaly. 7. The diviſion of UFA, commanded by general Reck, having under him general Chardon, a native of Avignon. 8. The diviſion of SIBERIA, commanded by general Strandmann.

Theſe eight diviſions were ſtated to form a regular army of	400,000 men.
The artillery, of which the favourite Plato Zuboff was grand maſter, reckoned about	30,000
Three regiments of foot-guards, and a regiment of horſe-guards — —	10,000
The Koſaks of the Don, the Tartars of Taurida, the Kalmuks, and ſeveral other hordes, furniſhed, in irregular troops, nearly — — —	120,000
Total of the army	550,000

This army was completed by the recruits which the proprietors of eſtates were obliged to furniſh, ſometimes by raiſing one man out of every 500 of their peaſants, ſometimes out of 300, ſometimes out of 100*.

* In the war before laſt againſt the Turks, it once happened, that one man out of 35 was taken, to recruit the army of marſhal Romantzoff.

This method of recruiting, though convenient to the empreſs, was ruinous to the empire, and was attended with horrible abuſes. The officers employed in levying recruits, after ſtripping naked all the men preſented to them, cut the hair from behind of thoſe they rejected, and the hair over the forehead of ſuch as they accepted. They were obliged to ſelect only ſound men, exempt from all bodily blemiſh; but by means of a ſlight gratification, they were induced to take ſuch as the maſters wanted to get rid of, and who often were not even able to bear the fatigues of the journey. Beſides, the maſters were obliged to give a certain ſum of money to theſe recruits; the relations almoſt always added ſomething to this ſum; and all this was truſted to the officer, whoſe intereſt it was that the recruits ſhould not join the army, that he might keep what belonged to them. Accordingly, he fed them ſo badly, and fatigued them ſo much, that ſometimes not more than a third reached the place of their deſtination. It was very well authenticated, that of 60,000 men raiſed in a diſtrict, to recruit the army of prince Potemkin, only 1800 were able to join that army.

NAVY,

NAVY.

The fleet of the BALTIC was eſtabliſhed by Peter I. at St. Peterſburg, at Cronſtadt, and at Reval.

In 1793, this fleet was compoſed of 34 ſhips of the line *, and 12 frigates.

In 1794, admiral Pavliſhen brought from Archangel to Cronſtadt †, ſix ſhips of the line and four frigates: in all, 40 ſhips of the line and 16 frigates.

Beſides theſe there were ſeveral bomb-ketches, gun-boats, cutters, and other ſmall veſſels.

The galley-fleet of the Baltic conſiſted of near 400 gallies, which for the moſt part mounted guns.

The fleet of the EUXINE, eſtabliſhed by Peter I. was but of little conſequence, till the time when prince Potemkin took poſſeſſion of the Krimea.

* There were in number 49; but we ſpeak here only of ſuch as were fit to keep the ſea.

† The ſhips built in the ports of the Baltic are of oak, and thoſe which come from Archangel of larch timber.

In

In 1793, there were at Sevaſtopol and Adji-bey *, under the orders of admiral Utſchakoff, eight ſhips of the line, of from 66 to 74 guns, and twelve frigates from 36 to 40 guns †.

At Nicolayeff and at Adji-der ‡, 200 che-beks, gun-boats, and other veſſels with oars.

The ſquadron of the CASPIAN was eſtabliſhed by tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, the father of Peter I.

In 1793 it was compoſed of three ſmall frigates, one bomb-ketch, and five corvettes.

EXPENCES.

	Rubles.
The ſupport of the army coſts ſomewhat leſs than — —	6,000,000
The ſupport of the navy about	1,500,000
All the other ordinary expences amount to — — —	3,500,000
Total	11,000,000

* Adji-bey is a harbour newly conſtructed for large ſhips, between Otchakoff and the Dnieſter.

† Almoſt all the cannons were of braſs.

‡ Adji-der is at the mouth of the Liman and of the Dnieſter.

REVENUES.

REVENUES.

	Rubles.
The revenues of Ruſſia, proceeding from the capitation, the tributes, the produce of the mines, the duties on merchandize, monopolies, &c. amount to about	32,500,000
From Taurida and Caucaſus	3,000,000
From Poland, about —	7,000,000
From Courland, about —	2,000,000
Total of the revenues	45,000,000

Accordingly, a ſurplus of revenue remained of 34,000,000 of rubles, which was employed to the maintenance of the tribunals, the various public inſtitutions, in penſions, in entertainments, in preſents, and extraordinaries of all kinds. It was not ſufficient for the adminiſtration of Catharine II. ſince ſhe frequently raiſed loans in Holland, Genoa, Venice, and other countries.

TITLE OF THE EMPRESS.

By the grace of God, Catharine II. *, empreſs and autocratrix of all the Ruſſias, of Moſco,

* The ſovereigns of Ruſſia never put their name before that of the Almighty Monarch of the Univerſe.

Kieff, Vladimir, Novgorod, tzarina of Kaſan, tzarina of Aſtrakhan, tzarina of Siberia, tzarina of the Tauridan Cherſonneſe, lady of Pſkove, and grand ducheſs of Smolenſk, princeſs of Eſthonia, Livonia, Karelia *, Tver, Yugoria †, Permia, Viatka, Bulgaria, and other countries: lady and grand ducheſs of Novgorod of the low country ‡, of Tſchernigoff, Riaſan, Polotſk, Roſtoff, Yaroſlavl, Bieloſero, Udoria §, Obdoria ‖, Kondia ¶, Vitepſk, Mſtiſlavl, ſovereign

* By Karelia is meant the preſent government of Vyburg, generally called Finland.

† This is a part of the government of Archangel, namely, the diſtrict of Puſtozero, about the mouth of the Petſchora. Yugoria is an obſolete name, of which ſome few appear in the imperial title, which have been retained from very remote periods: commonly they denote but ſmall tracts of country.

‡ Meaning Niſhney-Novgorod: *niſhney* in ruſs ſignifies *low*.

§ Likewiſe an obſolete name, which formerly denoted the region about the river Meſen, eſpecially towards its mouth.

‖ By this obſolete name, originating from the river Obe, is meant the region adjacent to Bereſoff, in the government of Tobolſk. Tzar Vaſſilli Ivanovitch was the firſt who put Obdoria into his title.

¶ In the ukauſes publiſhed on the acceſſion to the government, beginning with the imperial title, *e. g.* of the year 1762, and in other public acts which contain it, we find Condinia;

reign of the whole northern region, and lady of the country of Iveria *; of the kartalinian and gruſinian tzars †, and of the kabardinian country, of the Tſcherkaſſians, and of the mountain-princes, and of others hereditary lady and ſovereign.

In the *letter of grace*, granted by the empreſs to all the nobility, ſhe adds the following illuſtration: "It is known to all nations, that this "title of our ſole ſovereignty is not that of an "imaginary empire not in ſubjection to us; nor "does it contain foreign principalities, provinces,

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Condinia; and ſo ſays Buſching. But in the two letters of grace before mentioned, of the year 1785, it is expreſsly written Kondia, and therefore that name is retained above: moreover, as it denotes the region circumjacent to the river Konda, where it falls into the Irtiſh, it may properly be ſo called. It is found in the imperial title ever ſince the reign of Vaſſilli Ivanovitch.

* Perſons of extenſive information, of whom we inquired, were unable to point out the ſituation of this place: perhaps we ſhould look for it in the diſtrict of Valdai, where the famous old Iverian monaſtery is ſtill ſtanding.

† That is, the georgian tzars. We have ſeen, in the foregoing hiſtory, that the tzar of Kartalinia, in the year 1783, ſubmitted himſelf, his ſucceſſors, and all his dominions, ſolemnly and publicly, to the ruſſian ſovereignty; but theſe countries long before appeared in the imperial title, as the former tzars of them had put themſelves under the ruſſian protection.

"towns,

" towns, and countries, but expreſſes our wide-
" extended and numerous poſſeſſions by the
" ſhorteſt denominations*."

It may further be remarked, that in the earlier ukauſes and manifeſtos, it always ran: " By the grace of God, we Catharine II. &c." but in the two *letters of grace* it is: " By God's " aſſiſting grace, we Catharine II. &c."—Majeſty is expreſſed in ruſs by *velitſcheſtvo*, which indeed ſignifies *ſovereignty*, but originally imports *greatneſs*, as derived from *veliki* great.

* Many countries and provinces, ſubject to the ruſſian ſovereignty, indeed do not appear by name in the imperial title: for example, the country of the Kirguiſes, and the Tſchuktſchis lately brought into ſubjection to it, without mentioning the iſlands in the eaſtern ocean, which never belonged to Siberia.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

APPENDIX

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME.

No. I.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.

The MEMORIAL *presented to their* HIGH MIGHTINESSES *by Prince* GALLITZIN, *the Russian Minister, on the part of the* EMPRESS *his Sovereign.*

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

THE underwritten envoy extraordinary from the empress of all the Russias, has the honour to communicate to you a copy of the declaration which the empress his sovereign has made to the belligerent powers. Your high mightinesses may look upon this communication as a particular mark of the attention of the empress for the republic, which is equally interested in the reasons which occasioned the declaration. He has further orders to declare to your high mightinesses, in the name of her imperial majesty, that how desirous soever she may be on the one hand to maintain the strictest neutrality during the present war, yet her majesty is as determined to take the most efficacious means to support the honour of the russian flag, the security of the trade, and the navigation of her subjects, and not suffer either to be hurt by any of the belligerent powers; that, in order to prevent on this occasion any misunderstanding or false interpretation, she thought it necessary to specify in the declaration

tion the limits of a free trade, and what is called contraband. That, if the definition of the former is founded upon the cleareſt notions of natural right, the latter is literally taken from the treaty of commerce between Ruſſia and Great Britain, by which her imperial majeſty means inconteſtably to prove her good faith and impartiality towards each party; that ſhe conſequently apprehends that the other trading powers will immediately come into her way of thinking relative to neutrality.

From theſe conſiderations, her imperial majeſty has ordered the underwritten to invite your high mightineſſes to make a common cauſe with her, as ſuch an union may ſerve to protect the trade and navigation, and at the ſame time obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and to communicate to your high mightineſſes the regulation ſhe has in conſequence taken.

The ſame invitation has been made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Liſbon, in order that by the united endeavours of all the neutral maritime powers, a natural ſyſtem, founded on juſtice, might be eſtabliſhed and legaliſed in favour of the trade of neutral nations, which by its real advantages might ſerve for a rule for future ages.

The underwritten does not doubt but your high mightineſſes will, without delay, take the invitation of her imperial majeſty into conſideration, and concur in immediately making a declaration to the belligerent powers, founded on the ſame principles as that of the empreſs, explaining at the ſame time the nature of a free and contraband trade, conformable to their reſpective treaties with the other nations.

In concluſion, the underwritten has the honour to aſſure your high mightineſſes, that if, to eſtabliſh ſuch a glorious and advantageous ſyſtem upon the moſt ſolid baſis, you are deſirous to open a negotiation with the above-mentioned neutral powers on this ſubject, the empreſs, his ſovereign, is ready to join you.

Your mightineſſes will eaſily ſee the neceſſity of accelerating your reſolutions upon objects of ſuch importance and advan-

advantage for humanity in general. The underwritten begs of you to give him a ſpeedy anſwer.

DMITRI PRINCE GALLITZIN.

Hague, April 3, 1780.

DECLARATION *from the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA *to the* COURTS *of* LONDON, VERSAILLES, *and* MADRID.

THE empreſs of all the Ruſſias has ſo fully manifeſted her ſentiments of equity and moderation, and has given ſuch evident proofs, during the courſe of the war that ſhe ſupported againſt the Ottoman Porte, of the regard ſhe has for the rights of neutrality and the liberty of univerſal commerce, as all Europe can witneſs; that her conduct, as well as the principles of impartiality which ſhe has diſplayed during the preſent war, juſtly inſpired her with the fulleſt confidence, that her ſubjects would peaceably enjoy the fruits of their induſtry and the advantages belonging to a neutral nation. Experience has nevertheleſs proved the contrary. Neither the above-mentioned conſiderations, nor the regard to the rights of nations, have prevented the ſubjects of her imperial majeſty from being often moleſted in their navigation, and ſtopped in their operations, by thoſe of the belligerent powers.

Theſe impediments to the liberty of trade in general, and to that of Ruſſia in particular, are of a nature to excite the attention of all neutral nations. The empreſs finds herſelf obliged therefore to ſet it free by all the means compatible with her dignity and the well-being of her ſubjects; but, before ſhe puts this deſign into execution, and with a ſincere intention to prevent any future infringements, ſhe thought it but juſt to publiſh to all Europe the principles ſhe means to follow, as the beſt adapted to prevent any miſunderſtanding, or any occurrences that may occaſion it. Her imperial majeſty does it with the more confidence, as ſhe finds theſe principles coincident with the primitive right of nations to which every people may appeal, and which the belligerent powers cannot

invalidate without violating the laws of neutrality, and without diſavowing the maxims they have adopted in their ſeveral treaties and public engagements.

They are reducible to the following points:

Firſt, That all neutral ſhips may freely navigate from port to port, and on the coaſts of nations at war.

Secondly, That the effects belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid warring powers ſhall be free in all neutral veſſels, except contraband merchandiſe.

Thirdly, That the empreſs, as to the ſpecification of the above-mentioned merchandiſe, adheres to what is mentioned in the 10th and 11th articles of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, extending the terms of it to all the powers at war.

Fourthly, That, to determine what is meant by a blocked-up port, it is only to be underſtood of one which is ſo completely guarded by the ſhips of the power that attacks it, and which are ſtationed there, that it is dangerous for any veſſel to enter it.

Fifthly, That theſe principles ſerve as a rule for proceedings and judgments upon the legality of prizes.

Her imperial majeſty, in publiſhing theſe particulars, does not heſitate to declare, that for maintaining them, and for protecting the honour of her flag, the ſecurity of the trade and navigation of her ſubjects, ſhe has equipped the greateſt part of her maritime forces. This meaſure will not, however, influence the ſtrict neutrality ſhe does obſerve, and will obſerve, ſo long as ſhe is not provoked and forced to break the bounds of moderation and perfect impartiality. It will be only in this extremity that her fleet have orders to go wherever honour, intereſt, and neceſſity may require.

In giving this ſolemn aſſurance with the uſual openneſs of her character, the empreſs cannot do other than promiſe herſelf that the belligerent powers, convinced of the ſentiments of juſtice and equity which animate her, will contribute towards the accompliſhment of theſe ſalutary purpoſes, ſo manifeſtly tending to the good of all nations, and

to

to the advantage even of thoſe at war. In conſequence of which, her imperial majeſty will furniſh her commanding officers with inſtructions conformable to the above-mentioned principles, founded upon the primitive laws of nations, and ſo often adopted in their conventions.

ANSWER *from the* COURT *of* GREAT BRITAIN *to the* DECLARATION *of the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA; *ſent to the* BRITISH ENVOY *at* PETERSBURG, *April* 23, 1780.

DURING the courſe of the war, wherein his britannic majeſty finds himſelf engaged through the unprovoked aggreſſion of France and Spain, he hath conſtantly manifeſted his ſentiments of juſtice, equity, and moderation, in every part of his conduct. His majeſty hath acted towards friendly and neutral powers according to their own procedure reſpecting Great Britain, and conformable to the cleareſt principles, generally acknowledged as the law of nations, being the only law between powers where no treaties ſubſiſt, and agreeable to the tenor of his different engagements with other powers; thoſe engagements have altered this primitive law, by mutual ſtipulations, proportioned to the will and convenience of the contracting parties.

Strongly attached to her majeſty of all the Ruſſias, by the ties of reciprocal friendſhip, and common intereſt, the king, from the commencement of thoſe troubles, gave the moſt preciſe orders reſpecting the flag of her imperial majeſty, and the commerce of her ſubjects, agreeable to the law of nations, and the tenor of the engagements ſtipulated by his treaty of commerce with her, and to which he ſhall adhere with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs.

The orders to this intent have been renewed, and the utmoſt care will be taken for their ſtricteſt execution.

It may be preſumed, not the leaſt irregularity will happen; but in caſe any infringements, contrary to theſe repeated orders, take place, the courts of admiralty, which in this,

like all other countries, are eſtabliſhed to take cognizance of ſuch matters, and in all caſes do judge ſolely by the law of nations, and by the ſpecific ſtipulations of different treaties, will redreſs every hardſhip in ſo equitable a manner, that her imperial majeſty ſhall be perfectly ſatisfied, and acknowledge a like ſpirit of juſtice which ſhe herſelf poſſeſſes.

ANSWER *from the* KING *of* FRANCE *to the* DECLARATION *of the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA.

THE war in which the king is engaged having no other motive than the attachment of his majeſty to the freedom of the ſeas, he could not but with the trueſt ſatisfaction ſee the empreſs of Ruſſia adopt the ſame principle, and reſolve to maintain it. That which her imperial majeſty claims from the belligerent powers is no other than the rules already preſcribed to the french marine, the execution of which is maintained with an exactitude known and applauded by all Europe.

The liberty of neutral veſſels, reſtrained only in a few caſes, is the direct conſequence of neutral right, the ſafe-guard of all nations, and the relief even of thoſe at war. The king has been deſirous, not only to procure a freedom of navigation to the ſubjects of the empreſs of Ruſſia, but to thoſe of all the ſtates who hold their neutrality, and that upon the ſame conditions as are announced in the treaty to which his majeſty this day anſwers.

His majeſty thought he had taken a great ſtep for the general good, and prepared a glorious epocha for his reign, by fixing, by his example, the rights which every belligerent power may, and ought to acknowledge to be due to neutral veſſels. His hopes have not been deceived; as the empreſs, in avowing the ſtricteſt neutrality, has declared in favour of a ſyſtem which the king is ſupporting at the price of his people's blood, and as her majeſty adopts the very ſame rights as he would wiſh to make the baſis of the maritime code.

If

If freſh orders were neceſſary to prevent the veſſels of her imperial majeſty from being diſturbed in their navigation by the ſubjects of the king, his majeſty would immediately give them; but the empreſs will no doubt be ſatisfied with the diſpoſitions made by his majeſty in the regulations he has publiſhed. They do not depend on circumſtances alone, but are founded on the law of nations, and entirely agreeable to a prince who finds the happineſs of his own kingdom in that of the general proſperity. The king wiſhes her imperial majeſty would add to the means ſhe has fixed to determine what merchandizes are reckoned contraband in time of war, preciſe rules to be inſerted in the form of the ſea-papers with which the ruſſian ſhips will be furniſhed.

With this precaution, his majeſty is aſſured nothing will happen to make him regret the having put the ruſſian navigators on as advantageous a footing as can be in time of war. Fortunate circumſtances have more than once occurred to prove to the two courts how important it is for them to explain themſelves freely relative to their reſpective intereſts.

His majeſty is very happy to have explained his way of thinking to her imperial majeſty upon a point ſo intereſting to Ruſſia, and to the trading powers of Europe. He the more ſincerely applauds the principles and views of the empreſs, as his majeſty partakes of the ſame ſentiments which have brought her majeſty to adopt ſuch meaſures, as muſt be to the advantage of her own ſubjects, and of all other nations.

Verſailles, April 25, 1780.

ANSWER *from the* KING *of* SPAIN, *to the* DECLARATION *of the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA.

THE king, being informed of the empreſs's ſentiments with reſpect to the belligerent and neutral powers, by a memorial remitted to the compte de Florida Blanca, on the 15th inſt. by Mr. Stephen Zinovief, miniſter from her

imperial majeſty: the king conſiders this as the effect of a juſt confidence which his majeſty has on his part merited; and it is yet more agreeable that the principles adopted by this ſovereign ſhould be the ſame as have always guided the king, and which his majeſty has for a long time, but without ſucceſs, endeavoured to cauſe England to obſerve, while Spain remained neuter. Theſe principles are founded in juſtice, equity, and moderation; and theſe ſame principles Ruſſia and all the other powers have experienced in the reſolutions formed by his majeſty; and it has been entirely owing to the conduct of the engliſh navy, both in the laſt and the preſent war (a conduct wholly ſubverſive of the received rules among neutral powers) that his majeſty has been obliged to follow their example; ſince the Engliſh, paying no reſpect to a neutral flag, if the veſſel be laden with effects belonging to the enemy, even if the articles ſhould not be contraband, and that flag not uſing any means of defending itſelf, there could not be any juſt cauſe why Spain ſhould not make repriſals, to indemnify herſelf for the great diſadvantages under which ſhe muſt otherwiſe labour. The neutral powers have alſo laid themſelves open to the inconveniences they have ſuffered, by furniſhing themſelves with double papers, and other artifices, to prevent the capture of their veſſels; from which have followed captures and detentions innumerable, and other diſagreeable conſequences, though in reality not ſo prejudicial as pretended; on the contrary, ſome of theſe detentions have turned to the advantage of the proprietors, as the goods, being ſold in the port where they were condemned, have frequently gone off at a higher price than they would have done at the place of their deſtination.

The king, nevertheleſs, not contented with theſe proofs of his juſtification, which have been manifeſted to all Europe, will this day have the glory of being the firſt to give the example of reſpecting the neutral flag of all the courts that have conſented, or ſhall conſent, to defend it, till his majeſty finds what part the engliſh navy takes, and

whether they will, together with their privateers, keep within proper bounds. And to ſhew to all the neutral powers how much Spain is deſirous of obſerving the ſame rules in time of war as ſhe was directed by whilſt neuter, his majeſty conforms to the other points contained in the declaration of Ruſſia. To be underſtood, nevertheleſs, that, with regard to the blockade of Gibraltar, if the danger of entering ſubſiſts, as determined by the fourth article of the ſaid declaration. Theſe dangers may, however, be avoided by the neutral powers, if they conform to thoſe rules of precaution eſtabliſhed by his majeſty's declaration of the 13th of laſt March, which has been communicated to the court of Peterſburg by his miniſter.

FLORIDA BLANCA.

At Aranjuez, 18 April, 1780.

DECLARATION *of the* KING *of* DENMARK *and* NORWAY, *to the* COURTS *of* LONDON, VERSAILLES, *and* MADRID.

IF the moſt exact and perfect neutrality, with the moſt regular navigation, and the moſt inviolable reſpect to treaties, could have exempted the commerce of the ſubjects of the king of Denmark and Norway from the inroads of the powers with whom he is at peace, and kept it free and independent, it would not be neceſſary to take meaſures to inſure to his ſubjects that liberty to which they have the moſt incontrovertible right. The king of Denmark has always founded his glory, and his grandeur, upon the eſteem and confidence of other nations. It has been his rule, from the beginning of his reign, to teſtify to all the powers, his friends, a conduct the moſt capable of convincing them of his pacific intentions, and of his deſire to contribute to the general happineſs of Europe. His proceedings have always been conformable to theſe principles, againſt which nothing can be alledged; he has, till now, only addreſſed himſelf to the powers at war, to obtain a redreſs of his grievances; and he has never

wanted moderation in his demands, nor acknowledgments when they have received the ſucceſs they deſerved: but the neutral navigation has been too often moleſted, and the moſt innocent commerce of his ſubjects too frequently diſturbed; ſo that the king finds himſelf obliged to take proper meaſures to aſſure to himſelf and his allies the ſafety of commerce and navigation, and the maintenance of the inſeparable rights of liberty and independence. If the duties of neutrality are ſacred, the law of nations has alſo its rights avowed by all impartial powers, eſtabliſhed by cuſtom, and founded upon equity and reaſon. A nation independent and neuter, does not loſe by the war of others the rights which ſhe had before the war, becauſe peace exiſts between her and all the belligerent powers. Without receiving or being obliged to follow the laws of either of them, ſhe is allowed to follow, in all places (contraband excepted) the traffic which ſhe would have a right to carry on, if peace exiſted with all Europe, as it exiſts with her. The king pretends to nothing beyond what the neutrality allows him. This is his rule, and that of his people; and the king cannot accord to the principle, that a power at war has a right to interrupt the commerce of his ſubjects. He thinks it due to himſelf, and to his ſubjects the faithful obſervers of theſe rules, and to the powers at war themſelves, to declare to them the following principles, which he has always held, and which he will always avow and maintain, in concert with the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, whoſe ſentiments he finds entirely conformable with his own.

I. That neutral veſſels have a right to navigate freely from port to port, even on the coaſts of the powers at war.

II. That the effects of the ſubjects of the powers at war ſhall be free in neutral veſſels, except ſuch as are deemed contraband.

III. That nothing is to be underſtood under the denominations of contraband, that is not expreſsly mentioned as ſuch in the third article of his treaty of commerce with Great

Great Britain, in the year 1670, and the 26th and 27th articles of his treaty of commerce with France, in the year 1742; and the king will equally maintain theſe rules with thoſe powers with whom he has no treaty.

IV. That he will look upon that as a fort blocked up, into which no veſſel can enter without evident danger, on account of veſſels of war ſo ſtationed there as to form an effectual blockade.

V. That theſe principles ſhall ſerve for rules in law proceedings, and that juſtice ſhall be expeditiouſly rendered, by the maritime regulations, conformably to treaty and uſage received.

VI. His majeſty does not heſitate to declare, that he will maintain theſe principles with the honour of his flag, and the liberty and independence of the commerce and navigation of his ſubjects; and that it is for this purpoſe he has armed a part of his navy, although he is deſirous to preſerve, with all the powers at war, not only a good underſtanding, but all the friendſhip of which the neutrality can admit. The king will never recede from theſe principles, unleſs he is forced to it: he knows his duties and his obligations, he reſpects them as he does his treaties, and deſires no other than to maintain them. His majeſty is perſuaded, that the belligerent powers will acknowledge the juſtneſs of his motives; that they will be as averſe as himſelf to doing any thing that may oppreſs the liberties of mankind, and that they will give their orders to their admiralty and to their officers, conformably to the principles above recited, which tend to the general happineſs and intereſt of all Europe.

Copenhagen, July 8, 1780.

DECLARATION *of the* KING *of* SWEDEN *to the ſame* COURTS.

EVER ſince the beginning of the preſent war, the king has taken particular care to manifeſt his intentions to all Europe. He made it his duty to obſerve a perfect neutrality; he fulfilled all that it required, with the moſt

ſcrupulous

ſcrupulous exactitude; and in conſequence of this, he thought himſelf entitled to all the prerogatives naturally appertaining to the qualification of a ſovereign perfectly neuter. But notwithſtanding this, his commercial ſubjects have been obliged to claim his protection, and his majeſty has found himſelf under the neceſſity of granting it to them.

To effect this, the king ordered laſt year a certain number of men of war to be fitted out. He employed a part of theſe on the coaſts of his kingdom, and the reſt ſerved as convoys for the ſwediſh merchant-ſhips in the different ſeas which the commerce of his ſubjects required them to navigate. He acquainted the ſeveral belligerent powers with theſe meaſures, and was preparing to continue the ſame during the courſe of this year, when other courts, who had likewiſe adopted a perfect neutrality, communicated their ſentiments to him, which the king has found entirely conformable to his own, and tending to the ſame object.

The empreſs of Ruſſia cauſed a declaration to be delivered to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid, in which ſhe acquainted them of her reſolution to protect the commerce of her ſubjects, and to defend the univerſal rights and prerogatives of neutral nations. This declaration was founded upon ſuch juſt principles of the laws of nations and the ſubſiſting treaties, that it was impoſſible to call them into queſtion. The king found them entirely concordant with his own cauſe, and with the treaty concluded in the year 1666, between Sweden and France; and his majeſty could not forbear to acknowledge and to adopt the ſame principles, not only with regard to thoſe powers, with whom the ſaid treaties are in force, but alſo with regard to ſuch others as are already engaged in the preſent war, or may be involved therein hereafter, and with whom the king has no treaties to appeal to. It is the univerſal law; and when there are no particular engagements exiſting, it becomes obligatory upon all nations.

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In conſequence thereof, the king declares hereby again, "That he will obſerve the ſame neutrality, and with the "ſame exactitude as he has hitherto done. He will enjoin "all his ſubjects, under rigorous pains, not to act in any "manner whatever contrary to the duties which a ſtrict "neutrality impoſes unto them; but he will effectually "protect their lawful commerce, by all poſſible means, "whenever they carry on the ſame, conformably to the "principles here above mentioned."

EXPLANATION *which the* COURT *of* SWEDEN *has demanded, relative to the Propoſal which the* COURT *of* RUSSIA *has made for the reciprocal Protection and Navigation of their Subjects.*

I. HOW and in what manner a reciprocal protection and mutual aſſiſtance ſhall be given?

II. Whether each particular power ſhall be obliged to protect the general commerce of the whole, or if in the mean time it may employ a part of its armament in the protection of its own particular commerce?

III. If ſeveral of theſe combined ſquadrons ſhould meet, or, for example, one or more of their veſſels, what ſhall be the rule of their conduct towards each other, and how far ſhall the neutral protection extend?

IV. It ſeems eſſential to agree upon the manner in which repreſentations ſhall be made to the powers at war, if, notwithſtanding our meaſures, their ſhips of war or armed veſſels ſhould continue to interrupt our commerce in any manner. Muſt theſe remonſtrances be made in the general name of the united powers, or ſhall each particular power plead its own cauſe only?

V. Laſtly, it appears eſſentially neceſſary to provide againſt this poſſible event, where one of the united powers ſeeing itſelf driven to extremities againſt any of the powers actually at war, ſhould claim the aſſiſtance of the allies in this convention to do her juſtice; in what manner can this be

be beſt concerted? A circumſtance which equally requires a ſtipulation, that the repriſals in that caſe ſhall not be at the will of ſuch party injured, but that the common voice ſhall decide: otherwiſe an individual power might at its pleaſure draw the reſt, againſt their inclinations and intereſts, into diſagreeable extremities, or break the whole league, and reduce matters into their original ſtate, which would render the whole fruitleſs and of no effect.

Answer *of the* Court *of* Russia.

I. AS to the manner in which protection and mutual aſſiſtance ſhall be granted, it muſt be ſettled by a formal convention, to which all the neutral powers will be invited; the principal end of which is, to inſure a free navigation to the merchant-ſhips of all nations. Whenever ſuch veſſel ſhall have proved from its papers, that it carries no contraband goods, the protection of a ſquadron or veſſels of war ſhall be granted her; under whoſe care ſhe ſhall put herſelf, and which ſhall prevent her being interrupted. From hence it follows:

II. That each power muſt concur in the general ſecurity of commerce. In the mean time, the better to accompliſh this object, it will be neceſſary to ſettle, by means of a ſeparate article, the places and diſtances which may be judged proper for the ſtation of each power. From that method will ariſe this advantage, that all the ſquadrons of the allies will form a kind of chain, and be able to aſſiſt each other; the particular arrangement to be confined only to the knowledge of the allies, though the convention, in all other points, will be communicated to the powers at war, accompanied with the ſincereſt proteſtations of a ſtrict neutrality.

III. It is undoubtedly the principle of a perfect equality, which muſt regulate this point. We ſhall follow the common mode with regard to ſafety. In caſe the ſquadrons ſhould meet and engage, the commanders will conform to the uſages of

of the ſea ſervice, becauſe, as is obſerved above, the reciprocal protection, under theſe conditions, ſhould be unlimited.

IV. It ſeems expedient, that the repreſentations mentioned in this article be made by the party aggrieved; and that the miniſters of the other confederate powers ſupport thoſe remonſtrances in the moſt forcible and efficacious manner.

V. We feel all the importance of this conſideration; and, to render it clear, it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the caſe.

If any one of the allied powers ſhould ſuffer itſelf to be drawn in by motives contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of a neutrality and perfect impartiality, ſhould infringe its laws, or extend their bounds, it cannot certainly be expected that the others ſhould eſpouſe the quarrel; on the contrary, ſuch a conduct would be deemed a dereliction of the ties which unite them. But if the inſult offered to one of the allies ſhould be hoſtile to the principles adopted and announced in the face of all Europe, or ſhould be marked with the character of hatred and animoſity, inſpired by reſentment, againſt theſe common meaſures of the confederacy, which has nothing elſe in view than to make, in a preciſe and irrevocable manner, laws for the liberty of commerce, and the rights of every neutral nation, then it ſhall be held indiſpenſable for the united powers to make a common cauſe of it, (at ſea only,) without its being a ground-work for other operations, as theſe connections are purely maritime, having no other object than naval commerce and navigation.

From all that is ſaid above, it evidently reſults, that the common will of all, founded upon the principles admitted and adopted by the contracting parties, muſt alone decide; and that it will always be the fixed baſis of the conduct and operations of this union. Finally, we ſhall obſerve, that theſe conventions ſuppoſe no other naval armament than what ſhall be conformable to circumſtances, according as thoſe ſhall render them neceſſary, or as may be agreed. It

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is probable that this agreement, once ratified and eſtabliſhed, will be of the greateſt conſequence; and that the belligerent powers will find in it ſufficient motives to perſuade them to reſpect the neutral flag, and prevent their provoking the reſentment of a reſpectable communion, founded under the auſpices of the moſt evident juſtice, and the ſole idea of which is received with the univerſal applauſe of all impartial Europe.

No. II.

COPY *of the* MARITIME TREATY *between the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA *and the* KING *of* DENMARK, *acceded to by the* KING *of* SWEDEN, *and* STATES GENERAL *of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

ART. I. THEIR reſpective majeſties are fully and ſincerely determined to keep upon the moſt friendly terms with the preſent belligerent powers, and preſerve the moſt exact neutrality: they ſolemnly declare their firm intention to be, that their reſpective ſubjects ſhall ſtrictly obſerve the laws forbidding all contraband trade with the powers now being, or that may hereafter be, concerned in the preſent diſputes.

II. To prevent all equivocation or miſunderſtanding of the word contraband, their imperial and royal majeſties declare that the meaning of the ſaid word is ſolely reſtrained to ſuch goods and commodities as are mentioned under that denomination in the treaties ſubſiſting between their ſaid majeſties and either of the belligerent powers. Her imperial majeſty abiding principally by the Xth and XIth articles of the treaty of commerce with Great Britain; the conditions therein mentioned, which are founded on the right of nations, being underſtood to extend to the kings of France and Spain; as there is at preſent no ſpecific treaty of commerce

merce between the two latter and the former. His Daniſh majeſty, on his part, regulates his conduct in this particular by the firſt article of his treaty with England, and the XXVIth and XXVIIth of that ſubſiſting between his ſaid majeſty and the king of France, extending the proviſions made in the latter to the Catholic king; there being no treaty *ad hoc*, between Denmark and Spain.

III. And whereas by this means the word *contraband*, conformable to the treaties now extant, and the ſtipulations made between the contracting powers, and thoſe that are now at war, is fully explained; eſpecially by the treaty between Ruſſia and England of the 20th of June 1766; between the latter and Denmark, of the 11th of July 1670; and between their Daniſh and moſt chriſtian majeſties, of Auguſt 23d, 1742; the will and opinion of the high contracting powers, are, that all other trade whatſoever ſhall be deemed and remain free and unreſtrained.

By the declaration delivered to the belligerent powers, their contracting majeſties have already challenged the privileges founded on natural right, whence ſpring the freedom of trade and navigation; as well as the right of neutral powers; and being fully determined not to depend in future merely on an arbitrary interpretation, deviſed to anſwer ſome private advantages or concerns, they have mutually covenanted as follows:

Firſt, That it will be lawful for any ſhip whatever to ſail freely from one port to another, or along the coaſt of the powers now at war.—2dly, That all merchandiſe and effects belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid belligerent powers, and ſhipped on neutral bottoms, ſhall be entirely free; except contraband goods.—3dly, In order to aſcertain what conſtitutes the blockade of any place or port, it is to be underſtood to be in ſuch predicament, when the aſſailing power has taken ſuch a ſtation, as to expoſe to imminent danger, any ſhip or ſhips that would attempt to ſail in or out of the ſaid ports.—4thly, No neutral ſhips ſhall be ſtopped without

without a material and well-grounded cauſe: and in ſuch caſes juſtice ſhall be done to them without loſs of time; and beſides indemnifying, each and every time, the party aggrieved, and thus ſtopped without ſufficient cauſe, full ſatisfaction ſhall be given to the high contracting powers, for the inſult offered to their flag.

IV. In order to protect officially the general trade of their reſpective ſubjects, on the fundamental principles aforeſaid, her imperial, and his royal majeſty have thought proper, for effecting ſuch purpoſe, each reſpectively to fit out a proportionate quota of ſhips of war and frigates. The ſquadron of each of the contracting powers ſhall be ſtationed in a proper latitude, and ſhall be employed in eſcorting convoys according to the particular circumſtances of the navigators and traders of each nation.

V. Should any of the merchantmen belonging to the ſubjects of the contracting powers, fail in a latitude where ſhall be no ſhips of war of their own nation, and thus be deprived of the ſaid protection; in ſuch caſe, the commander of the ſquadron belonging to the other friendly power ſhall, at the requeſt of ſuch merchantmen, grant them ſincerely, and *bona fide*, all neceſſary aſſiſtance. The ſhips of war and frigates, of either of the contracting powers, ſhall thus protect and aſſiſt the merchantmen of the other: provided nevertheleſs, that under the ſanction of ſuch required aſſiſtance and protection, no contraband be carried on, nor any prohibited trade, contrary to the laws of the neutrality.

VI. The preſent convention cannot be ſuppoſed to have any relative effect; that is to extend to any differences that may have ariſen ſince its being concluded: unleſs the controverſy ſhould ſpring from continual vexations which might tend to aggrieve and oppreſs all the nations of Europe.

VII. If notwithſtanding the cautious and friendly care of the contracting powers, and their ſteady adherence to an exact neutrality, the Ruſſian and Daniſh merchantmen ſhould happen to be inſulted, plundered, or captured by any of the armed ſhips or privateers belonging to any of the belli-

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gerent powers; in ſuch caſe the ambaſſador or envoy of the aggrieved party, to the offending court, ſhall claim ſuch ſhip or ſhips, inſiſting on a proper ſatisfaction, and never neglect to obtain a reparation for the inſult offered to the flag of his court. The miniſter of the other contracting power ſhall at the ſame time, in the moſt efficacious and vigorous manner, defend ſuch requiſition, which ſhall be ſupported by both parties with unanimity. But in caſe of any refuſal, or even delay in redreſſing the grievances complained of; then their majeſties will retaliate againſt the power that ſhall thus refuſe to do them juſtice, and immediately agree together on the moſt proper means of making well-founded repriſals.

VIII. In caſe either of the contracting powers, or both at the ſame time, ſhould be in any manner aggrieved or attacked, in conſequence of the preſent convention, or for any reaſon relating thereto; it is agreed, that both powers will join, act in concert for their mutual defence, and unite their forces in order to procure to themſelves an adeqnate and perfect ſatisfaction, both in regard to the inſult put upon their reſpective flags, and the loſſes ſuffered by their ſubjects.

IX. This convention ſhall remain in force for and during the continuance of the preſent war; and the obligation enforced thereby, will ſerve as the ground-work of all treaties that may be ſet on foot hereafter: according to future occurrences, and on the breaking out of any freſh maritime wars which might unhappily diſturb the tranquillity of Europe. Meanwhile, all that is hereby agreed upon ſhall be deemed as binding and permanent, in regard both to mercantile and naval affairs, and ſhall have the force of law in determining the rights of neutral nations.

X. The chief aim and principal object of the preſent convention being to ſecure the freedom of trade and navigation, the high contracting powers have antecedently agreed, and do engage to give to all other neutral powers free leave to

accede to the preſent treaty, and, after a thorough knowledge of the principles on which it reſts, ſhare equally in the obligations and advantages thereof.

XI. In order that the powers, now at war, may not be ignorant of the ſtrength and nature of the engagements entered into by the two courts aforeſaid; the high-contracting parties ſhall give notice, in the moſt friendly manner, to the belligerent powers, of the meaſures by them taken; by which, far from meaning any manner of hoſtility, or cauſing any loſs or injury to other powers, their only intention is to protect the trade and navigation of their reſpective ſubjects.

XII. This convention ſhall be ratified by the contracting powers, and the ratifications interchanged between the parties in due form, within the ſpace of ſix weeks from the day of its being ſigned, or even ſooner, if poſſible. In witneſs whereof, and by virtue of the full powers granted us for the purpoſe, we have put our hands and ſeals to the preſent treaty.

Given at Copenhagen, July the 19th, 1780.

(Signed) CHARLES D'OSTEN, called SOKEN.
J. SCHACK RATLAU.
A. P. COMPTE BERNSTORFF.
O. THOFT.
H. EIKSTEDT.

Acceded to, and ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of the court of Sweden, at Peterſburg, the 21ſt of July, 1780, and by the ſtates-general accepted Nov. 20, 1780, and ſigned at Peterſburg, January 5, 1781, with the addition only of article

XIII. If the reſpective ſquadrons, or ſhips of war, ſhould meet or unite, to act in conjunction, the command in chief will be regulated according to what is commonly practiſed between the crowned heads and the republic.

No. III.

MEMORIAL *from the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA *to the* STATES-GENERAL.

High and Mighty Lords!

No ſooner had her imperial majeſty been informed of the Britiſh ambaſſador's ſudden departure from the Hague; than, without waiting for any further explanation, guided only by the friendſhip and good-will ſhe bears to the two contending powers, and awakened by the alarming tendency of a meaſure ſo detrimental to their mutual welfare and tranquillity, ſhe directed her miniſter in London to make the moſt earneſt repreſentations to that court, to prevent, if poſſible, the matter being carried to any extremity, and to recommend the moſt conciliating meaſures; offering at the ſame time to promote them as far as was in her power. Although her majeſty has not yet heard of any anſwer from the ſaid court, ſhe has ſome reaſon to think that the overtures made by her have been favourably received. In conſequence whereof, her imperial majeſty does not heſitate to give a freſh proof of her good intentions for bringing about a reconciliation between the two powers, whom ſhe equally ſupports, and who have lived ſo long in that natural and perfect harmony which beſt ſuits their reſpective intereſts, by offering them, in form, her ſervices and mediation, for the purpoſe of putting an end to that diſcord and war which has lately broke out between them.

While monſieur de Simolin, her imperial majeſty's miniſter at the court of London, is fulfilling her commands on this head; the underwritten has the honour to acquit himſelf of the ſame taſk here with their high mightineſſes, and

to aſſure them of the zeal and readineſs he wiſhes to have an opportunity to diſplay, in forwarding the deſirable work of reſtoring the ſaid ſtates to their wonted peace and tranquillity. That diſintereſtedneſs, impartiality, and benevolence, which have hitherto ſtamped every action of her imperial majeſty, are equally conſpicuous in the preſent inſtance.

The wiſdom and prudence of your high mightineſſes will eaſily diſtinguiſh thoſe ſacred characteriſtics, and dictate the anſwer which the underwritten ſhall tranſmit to his imperial miſtreſs, as a proof of his having executed her commands.

(Signed) LE PRINCE DE GALLITZIN.

Hague, March 1, 1781.

No. IV.

MEMORIAL *of* PRINCE GALTITZIN *and* MONS. DE MARKOFF, *Miniſters of the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS, *preſented to the* STATES GENERAL; *with Mr. Secretary* FOX'S *Letter to* MONS. SIMOLIN, RUSSIAN *Miniſter at the Court of* LONDON.

THE underwritten, joint miniſters of the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, in conſequence of the orders given them to accelerate as much as in them lies, the ſalutary work of the mediation entruſted to her imperial majeſty, think it their duty to loſe no time to communicate to your high mightineſſes a copy of a letter written to monſ. Simolin, their ſovereign's miniſter at the court of London, by Mr. Fox, ſecretary of ſtate to his britannic majeſty. It will convince your high mightineſſes of the intentions of his britannic majeſty to be ſincerely reconciled to the republic, on the conditions

conditions by yourſelves eſtabliſhed, in your reſolution of the 14th ult. by which you again accept of the empreſs's mediation; the preliminary conceſſion, made on the part of Great Britain, concerning the principal article of the treaty of 1674, ſeems to level all the obſtacles which had hitherto prevented your entering upon a negotiation for a final peace. If, in the interim, the propoſal made in the ſaid letter, of a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, ſhould be thought conformable to the intereſts of the nation, nothing could be more ſo to the principles of humanity in general, which actuate the empreſs, and to her private ſentiments, of benevolence and affection for this ſtate; eſpecially as ſuch a meaſure has the double advantage of preventing the uſeleſs effuſion of blood; and from this inſtant reſtoring to the republic, the enjoyments of the rights of freedom in trade and navigation, which fall to the ſhare of neutral nations, and eſpecially thoſe that have acceded to the principles of the armed neutrality.

Full of confidence in the diſpoſition equally peaceful, and conformable to the real welfare of the ſtate, which your high mightineſſes have always manifeſted in the moſt ſolemn and poſitive manner; the underwritten flatter themſelves, that you will not heſitate to make a proper uſe of the letter they have the honour to communicate, in order to take a quick and deciſive reſolution, that may tend to reſtore peace and harmony with your old friend and ally, upon terms as honourable as they are advantageous.

(Signed) P. GALLITZIN.
MARKOFF.

COPY *of the Letter alluded to in the above* MEMORIAL:

HAVING laid before his majeſty an extract of the letter which you did me the honour, ſir, of communicating from prince Gallitzin, and monſ. de Markoff, I have his majeſty's commands to inform you, that the king, deſirous of teſtifying his intentions towards their high mightineſſes, and of renewing that friendſhip which has been ſo unfortunately interrupted between old allies, who ought to be united in the bonds of mutual intereſt, is ready to enter into a negotiation, for the purpoſe of ſetting on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1674, between his majeſty and the republic; and that the better to facilitate the execution of a plan which his majeſty has ſo much at heart, the king is willing to give immediate orders for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, if, on their part, the lords the ſtates general ſhould think ſuch a meaſure ſuitable to the object in view.

I am commanded by his majeſty to explain to you, ſir, his ſentiments on ſo important a ſubject, and deſire you will impart the ſame to the miniſters of her imperial majeſty to their high mightineſſes, that they may be conveyed, without the leaſt delay, to the miniſters of the republic; being of opinion that it is the moſt convenient ſtep, with the mediation and good offices of her imperial majeſty, to put an end to the ſcourge of that war, which unfortunately ſubſiſts between the two nations.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. V.

MANIFESTO *published by order of the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA, *upon the Occasion of her Troops entering the Peninsula of the* KRIMEA, *the* KUBAN, *and the Island of* TAMAN; *which Countries are hereby declared to be annexed to her Imperial Majesty's Dominions.*

BY the Grace of God, we Catharine the Second, empress and sole monarch of all the Russias, &c. &c. &c.

Our last war against the Ottoman empire having been attended with the most signal successes, we had certainly acquired the right of re-uniting to the territories of our empire the Krimea, of which we were in possession: we, however, hesitated not to sacrifice that, with many other conquests, to our ardent desire of re-establishing the public tranquillity, and of confirming the good understanding and friendship between our empire and the Ottoman Porte. This motive induced us to stipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, whom we had reduced by our arms; hoping to remove for ever, by this means, every cause of dissension, and even of coolness, between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, exposed too often to these inconveniencies by the form of government which then subsisted among the Tartars.

Great as were our sacrifices and efforts for realising those hopes, they were soon, to our great regret, considerably diminished. The restlessness natural to the Tartars, fomented by insinuations, the source of which is not unknown to us, caused them easily to fall into a snare laid by foreign hands, which had sowed amongst them the seeds of disturbance and confusion to such a degree, as to induce them to labour for the weakening, and even the total ruin of an edifice which our beneficent cares had erected for the happiness of that

nation, by procuring them liberty and independence, under the authority of a chief elected by themſelves. Hardly was their khan eſtabliſhed according to this new form of government, before he ſaw himſelf deprived of all authority, and even obliged to deſert his country, to give place to an uſurper, who would again ſubject the Tartars to the yoke of a dominion, from which our beneficence had releaſed them. The greater part of them, as blind as they were ignorant, had ſubmitted to that uſurper; the reſt, thinking themſelves too weak to reſiſt, would infallibly have yielded to his yoke; and thus we ſhould have loſt the fruits of our victories, and the principal recompence for the ſacrifices which we willingly made at the laſt peace, if we had not inſtantly taken under our immediate protection ſuch of the well-diſpoſed Tartars, who, prizing the bleſſings of their new political exiſtence, lamented their being forced to ſubmit to the uſurper who had expelled their lawful khan. By thus effectually protecting them, we furniſhed them with the power and the means of chooſing a new khan, in the room of Sahib-Gheray, and of eſtabliſhing an adminiſtration analogous to this ſtate of affairs. It was to attain this end that our military forces were put in motion; that a conſiderable body of our troops were ordered, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, to enter the Krimea, where they were ſubſiſted at our expence, and obliged to exert the power of our army for the ſupport of the good cauſe, in order to recall ſuch of the Tartars as were eſtranged from it by their revolt. The public is not ignorant that a rupture between Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte had very near enſued upon this occaſion; but, thanks to the Divine aſſiſtance, we diſpoſed matters in ſuch a manner, that the Ottoman Porte again acknowledged the independence of the Tartars, and the validity of the election of Schaghin-Gheray, their lawful ſovereign. Notwithſtanding all the inconveniences abovementioned, as long as we were ſuſtained and animated by the hope of re-eſtabliſhing the repoſe neceſſary to the advantage

and

and preſervation of good neighbourhood with the Ottoman empire, we regarded the Krimea according to the tenour and letter of the treaties, as a free and independent country, confining ourſelf ſolely to appeaſing the troubles which prevailed amongſt them; from our love of peace we found in this conduct a ſufficient recompence for the great expences incurred by it; but we were ſoon undeceived in this reſpect by the freſh revolt occaſioned in the Krimea laſt year, the encouragement of which always flowed from the ſame ſource. We have been obliged in conſequence to have recourſe again to conſiderable armaments, and to cauſe troops to enter into the Krimea and the Kuban, whoſe preſence is become indiſpenſable for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the adjacent countries. The ſad experience of every day demonſtrates more clearly, that if the ſovereignty of the Ottoman Porte in the Krimea was a perpetual ſource of diſcord between our two empires, the independence of the Tartars expoſes us to ſubjects of contention no leſs numerous and important, ſince the long ſervitude to which that people have been accuſtomed, has rendered the greater part of the individuals incapable of valuing the advantages of the new ſituation procured for them by that independence of which we ſought to give them the enjoyment; and which, laying us under the neceſſity of being always armed, occaſions not only great expences, but alſo expoſes our troops to inevitable and continual fatigues.

The efforts they made to extinguiſh the flame of diſcord, in ſuccouring the well-intentioned of that nation, expoſed them to the violences of the ſeditious and ill-intentioned, whom we were willing to leave unpuniſhed, in order to avoid even the ſhadow of an act of ſovereignty, ſo long as we could cheriſh the leaſt hope of at length reſtoring good order, and preventing by this means the eſſential intereſts of our empire from being injured.

But to our great regret all theſe meaſures, dictated ſolely by our love of humanity, tended only to bring upon us loſſes

loſſes and damages, which we have the more ſenſibly at heart, as they affected our ſubjects. The loſs in men is not to be appreciated; we will not attempt to eſtimate it; that in money, according to the moſt moderate calculations, amounts to upwards of twelve millions of rubles. To theſe particulars is to be added another of the utmoſt importance, both in its object and with regard to its conſequences: we have juſt been informed, that the Porte has begun to lay claim to the exerciſe of ſovereignty in the Tartar dominions, by ſending one of their officers, at the head of a detachment of troops, to the iſland of Taman, who has even proceeded to cauſe the officer to be publicly beheaded, who was ſent to him by the khan Schaghin-Gheray, with a commiſſion only to enquire of him what were the motives for his arrival in that iſland; and what evidently proves the nature of the miſſion of this commandant of the troops is, that he made no difficulty in declaring openly to the inhabitants of Taman, that he looked upon them as ſubjects of the Porte. This deciſive, though unexpected ſtep, convincing us of the inutility of the ſacrifices we had made upon the laſt peace, annuls in conſequence the engagements we had contracted, with the ſole intention of firmly eſtabliſhing the freedom and independence of the Tartars, and ſufficiently authorizes us to enter again into the enjoyment of thoſe rights which we had lawfully acquired by conqueſt; the more ſo, as it is the only means remaining for us to ſecure hereafter a ſolid and permanent peace between the two empires. Animated therefore with a ſincere deſire of confirming and maintaining the laſt peace concluded with the Porte, by preventing the continual diſputes which the affairs of the Krimea produced, our duty to ourſelf, and the preſervation of the ſecurity of our empire, equally demand our taking the firm reſolution to put an end, once for all, to the troubles in the Krimea; and for this purpoſe we re-unite to our empire the peninſula of Krimea, the iſland of Taman, and all the Kuban, as a juſt

indemnification for the loſſes ſuſtained, and the expences we have been obliged to incur in maintaining the peace and welfare of theſe territories.

In declaring to the inhabitants of thoſe countries by the preſent manifeſto, that ſuch is our imperial pleaſure, we promiſe them, for us and our ſucceſſors in the imperial throne of Ruſſia, that they ſhall be treated upon an equality with our ancient ſubjects; and that, in taking them under our high protection, we will defend againſt all people their perſons, their eſtates, their temples, and the religion they profeſs; that they ſhall enjoy the moſt abſolute liberty of conſcience, without the leaſt reſtriction, in the public exerciſe of their worſhip and their ceremonies; and that not only the nation in general, but alſo each individual in particular, ſhall participate in all the advantages enjoyed by our ancient ſubjects. But we alſo expect, from the gratitude of our new ſubjects, that touched with theſe favours, they will be ſenſible of the value of this fortunate revolution, which removes them from a convulſed ſtate of diſturbances and diſſenſions to one of entire ſecurity and perfect tranquillity under the protection of the laws; and that, ſtriving to imitate the ſubmiſſion, zeal, and fidelity of thoſe who have long had the happineſs of living under our government, they will render themſelves worthy of our imperial favour, beneficence, and protection. Given at our imperial reſidence of St. Peterſburg, the 8th of April, in the year of Grace 1783, and in the 21ſt year of our reign.

(Signed with her imperial majeſty's own hand)

CATHARINE. (L. S.)

No. VI.

LETTER *from the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS *to his* PRUSSIAN MAJESTY.

MY advantageous ſentiments reſpecting the houſe of Pruſſia, ſentiments of which I have given efficacious proofs, permit me to hope for the ſame on their part. I expect it the more, as I have ever been convinced of their reciprocal affection. The war which is preparing between the emperor of the Romans and the Hollanders excites the immediate attention of the cabinet of Berlin, of which the Dutch endeavour by all ſorts of intrigues to ſecure the acceſſion. Your wiſdom acknowledges that the pretenſions of the emperor are equally juſt and moderate. Nature herſelf hath granted to the Auſtrian Low Countries the uſe and advantage of the river in diſpute; Auſtria alone, by virtue of the law of nature and nations, is entitled to an excluſive right to the uſe of the river in queſtion. So that the equity and diſintereſtedneſs of Joſeph II. can only impart this right to other people, it belonging excluſively to his ſtates. The ſentiments of Auſtria merit eſteem and attention, but the avidity of the Dutch, and the judgment which they permit themſelves to aſſume on account of the treaty of Munſter over the houſe of Auſtria, are notorious and blameable in every reſpect.

Nothing can be alleged with foundation in favour of Holland, therefore ſhe merits not the aſſiſtance of any foreign power. The conſequences which theſe republicans are drawing upon themſelves by their obſtinacy, muſt be ſubmitted to the moderation of the emperor alone. I am firmly reſolved to aſſiſt his pretenſions with all my land and ſea forces, with as much efficacy as if the welfare of my own empire was in agitation. I hope that this declaration of my ſentiments will meet with the ſucceſs which our reciprocal friendſhip deſerves, and which hath never been interrupted.

CATHARINE.

No. VII.

MANIFESTO *of the* SUBLIME PORTE *againſt* RUSSIA, *dated the* 11*th of* ZILEADE, *the Year* 1201 (*the* 24*th of Auguſt* 1787).

THE peace concluded between the Sublime Porte and the court of Ruſſia in 1187 (1774), was chiefly made for the repoſe and tranquillity of their reſpective ſubjects, yet the court of Ruſſia has not ceaſed to raiſe and maintain pretenſions capable of diſturbing the good harmony which that peace ought to procure: it has even proceeded ſo far as to ſeize on the Krimea, a proceeding directly oppoſite to the conditions agreed on to ſerve as the foundation of the treaty of Kainardgi. It was ſtipulated in the inſtrument then given on both ſides, that there ſhould be no farther diſcuſſion between the two empires, and that they ſhould enjoy a perfect peace. It was ſpecified in the capitulations that they ſhould avoid for the future all intrigue whatever, and all plots ſecret or public; yet the court of Ruſſia has raiſed up prince Heraclius, who was furniſhed with a diploma of inveſtiture as vaſſal of the Sublime Porte. Ruſſian troops have been placed in Tifflis: they have declared themſelves ſupreme over the ſaid prince, and from that moment the diſorder in Georgia and our adjoining frontiers has been general. When we alleged that this proceeding was a formal infraction of the treaties, it was maintained to the contrary. It was expreſsly agreed on, that the Otchakovians ſhould have the free and unlimited extraction of the ſalt works, which always belonged to the inhabitants of that frontier; yet they have always met with a number of impediments, and experienced every ſort of ill treatment from the Ruſſians; and when they reclaimed the execution of the conventions, the court of Ruſſia has conſtantly refuſed it. The conſul of that court has ſeduced the waywode of Moldavia, who has the rank of a prince; he favoured

voured his flight, and when the Sublime Porte reclaimed him, the Ruſſian envoy replied, his court would not deliver him up; a refuſal directly oppoſite to the treaties. The Ruſſian court has ſhewn as bad deſigns by giving what turn it pleaſed to many ſimilar things. It has corrupted the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte, by eſtabliſhing conſuls in Vallachia, Moldavia, in iſles and places where the preſence of thoſe officers was uſeleſs, and even prejudicial to the true believers. It has invited to its eſtates the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte, and employed them in its marine and other ſervices. It has eſpecially entered into the interior diſpoſition of our adminiſtration, by ſolliciting either the recall or puniſhment of governors, judges, vaſſals, and of all the officers not in their intereſt, and even of the paſha of Georgia and the princes of Vallachia and Moldavia. Every one knows how generouſly the Porte behaved to the ruſſian merchants:—they carried on their trade in the ottoman ſtates with ſafety and liberty, and might go wherever they pleaſed; for which reaſon we expected the ſame indulgences for the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte. Such were our conventions when the Ruſſian court wanted to monopolize all the commerce, and exacted a duty far greater from the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte than from other powers. When the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte wanted to recover their debts in the Ruſſian ſtates, they met a thouſand obſtacles; not being able to go where they wanted, they were obliged to return without their due; many even have diſappeared without our knowing what became of them. When the merchant veſſels of the Sublime Porte wanted, either through ſtreſs of weather or want of water, or any other urgent neceſſity, to go on board a ruſſian ſhip, the Ruſſians kept them off with their guns. They have likewiſe ſometimes fired on our veſſels from Soghoudgiak. The court of Ruſſia wanted to underſtand the article relating to prince Heraclius, amongſt other articles of a great deal leſs importance, and gave notice in a miniſterial manner, by its envoy to the Sublime Porte, to furniſh a common inſtrument for all

all theſe objects; if not, it had ordered general Potemkin to march to our frontiers with 60 or 70,000 men to exact the execution of all the articles, and that the empreſs was to come thither herſelf. This notice was an open and formal declaration of war. The order given to general Potemkin to repair to our frontiers, at the head of ſo many troops, is analogous to the proceedings of the court of Ruſſia, with regard to the uſurpation of the Krimea. If the Ruſſians remain maſters of it, the Porte cannot hope to remain in ſecurity for the future, and they will always have ſome bad deſigns to fear. Theſe conſiderations engaged the Porte to ſhew to the ruſſian envoy the deſire they had for the Krimea to be eſtabliſhed on its ancient footing, and to make a new treaty to cement friendſhip between the two empires. The envoy anſwered, he could not make theſe propoſitions to his court, and that if he were to do it, he foreſaw no good could reſult from it. He rejected or eluded the articles which contained our complaints, and formally anſwered, that his court would not renounce the Krimea. That for all theſe reaſons, and others, either ſecret or public, which it is impoſſible to enumerate, the Sublime Porte is obliged to declare war, in conſequence of which ſhe has publiſhed this manifeſto to the reſpectable court of France, to inform it of the reſolution ſhe has taken to go to war with Ruſſia. The Sublime Porte ſubmits the motives herein contained to the equity of her friends.

MANIFESTO *of the* COURT *of* RUSSIA *againſt the* SUBLIME PORTE, *dated* PETERSBURG, *Sept.* 13*th*, 1787.

THE court having received the news of the impriſonment of M. Bulgakoff, miniſter at Conſtantinople, and the declaration of war made by the Porte, can no longer avoid a rupture, and in conſequence has publiſhed a manifeſto, the tenor of which is as follows:

The troubles which have inceſſantly agitated the public repoſe and tranquillity eſtabliſhed between the ruſſian empire

pire and the Porte, by the peace of Kainardgi, are too recent to require recapitulation. Suffice it to ſay, that ſince the concluſion of that peace, unto the preſent moment, the Porte has ſhewn, in all her conduct, the moſt manifeſt want of faith, and a diſpoſition to render the eſſential ſtipulations then made illuſive.

Though the court of Ruſſia is furniſhed with a multitude of proofs of this truth, which ſhe reſerves for a more particular detail to be publiſhed hereafter, ſhe will at preſent cite the facts, the moſt recent, which have brought on the unexpected developement ſo contrary to the pacific ſyſtem which ſhe followed moſt willingly on all occaſions. She flattered herſelf to have fixed an immovable baſis for peace by the declaratory convention of Analy Cavack, concluded in 1779, by the commerce, and in particular by the tranſaction reſpecting the peninſula of the Krimea, the end of which was, as then demonſtrated, not to extend the frontiers of the empire, but rather to terminate the diſorders and depredations continually made by the people of the peninſula, by ſubjecting them to a police which would make them reſpect the laws, and keep up harmony and good intelligence with the frontiers of both ſtates. Such were the ſincere intention and views of the court of Ruſſia, which ſhe was at great pains and trouble to accompliſh.

After having reconciled differences of ſo delicate and important a nature, every thing ſeemed to promiſe a durable peace; hut affairs were hardly thus happily compromiſed and adjuſted, on the faith of treaties and engagements the moſt ſolemn and ſacred, when the next turkiſh miniſtry, which ſucceeded to that under which all theſe negotiations had paſſed, ſhewed diſpoſitions diametrically contrary to their ſpirit and tenor. Ill-founded pretenſions ſoon aroſe reſpecting the exportation of ſalt, which had been granted by treaty to the inhabitants of Otchakoff. Ruſſian conſuls were denied entrance into ſome places of their nomination; and as if it had been proved that objects of this nature could not ſuffice to effect the rupture in view, protection was publicly

publicly permitted to the invaſions of the Leſgis and Tartars of Kuban; the former of which hoſtilely attacked the ſtates of tzar Heraclius, the acknowledged vaſſal of the empreſs; and the latter penetrated into the frontiers of Ruſſia, where they robbed, pillaged, and carried off whatever was not defended by the troops ſtationed in thoſe parts.

The empreſs, conſtant to her plan of moderation which her humanity and love of peace had made her adopt, upon receiving the above advices, contented herſelf with calling upon the Turkiſh miniſtry to reſpect the treaties, and demanding in conſequence ſatisfaction for ſuch breaches of faith and peace: but all her remonſtrances were fruitleſs, and anſwered with arrogance and diſreſpect. In the mean time, her principles remained unaltered. Being miſtreſs of her choice of means, ſhe ſtill preferred once more the way of negotiations, and laid open to the emperor, her ally, the ſtate of her affairs, and accepted the good offer of the king of France to mediate between herſelf and the Porte; ſhe made her pretenſions known to them both, and theſe monarchs declared the juſtice and equity of them. In ſhort, to neglect nothing that might preſerve ſo valuable a bleſſing as the peace of her people, ſhe took occaſion, when in the neighbourhood of the Turkiſh ſtates, during the memorable journey which ſhe had but lately finiſhed, to call her miniſter at the Porte, and examine him touching the differences which had ariſen, and the means moſt efficacious for an accommodation of them all. In this view, and in full confidence of the reſpect which the Turks would ſhew on their part for mutual and ſolemn engagements then ſubſiſting, ſhe ſent back her miniſter to Conſtantinople. Upon his return he was immediately ſummoned to a conference, at which, inſtead of the points being reſumed which were in agitation before his departure, and acquieſcing in the demands of Ruſſia, a new turn to affairs was given, and pretenſions ſtarted; the firſt of which was contrary to ſtipulations made by treaty, and the others derogatory to the dig-

nity of the empreſs, or rather hurtful to the intereſts of the empire.

After the Turkiſh miniſtry had thus broken through the limits expreſsly ſtipulated, they thought they might then at once take off the maſk, and have diſcovered the deſign which, in all probability, was long harboured, ſince they declared to the Ruſſian miniſter, that the Porte conſidered itſelf bound only by the treaty of Kainardgi; and as the acts which followed it were but the effect of complaiſance, ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to adhere to them longer than ſuited her convenience. A term was fixed for receiving a categorical anſwer from the Ruſſian miniſter to the demands and pretenſions communicated to him. The miniſter proteſted againſt the injuſtice, the indecency, and impoſſibility, in ſo ſhort a time, of complying with ſuch a requiſition; he was not heard, not even on the ſubject of the complaints ſtated before this time, and for which he had demanded ſatisfaction. All that he could obtain was the promiſe of another conference, which alſo took place, but at which the ſame demands and pretenſions were repeated, without adding any thing more except a vague promiſe of the ſatisfaction he had demanded.

When the news of theſe two conferences came to the empreſs, ſhe did not abandon herſelf to the diſcontent and reſentment which were juſtifiable; ſhe thought ſhe might remain ſpectatreſs of the attempt which a want of delicacy and circumſpection, ſufficiently common on the part of the Turkiſh miniſtry, had made them hazard; mean while the ſequel has proved that it was a plan long formed, and going to be put immediately in execution. In theſe ſentiments her imperial majeſty was willing to crown all the former proofs given of her moderation and diſtance in thought from the conſequences which ſuch a critical ſituation of affairs preſaged, by ſome condeſcendance on her part to certain

certain of the pretenſions of the Porte, and for this purpoſe orders were diſpatched to prince Potemkin, when ſuddenly ſhe learned that the Porte, without waiting for the expiration of the term fixed by herſelf, had ſummoned M. de Bulgakoff to a conference on the 6th (16th), and after propoſing to him to ſign an act by which the treaty of commerce and the tranſaction concerning the peninſula of the Krimea were to be annulled, upon his refuſal peace was declared to be broken, and himſelf ſent to the caſtle of Seven Towers, where, in contempt of the rights of nations, he remains a priſoner at this moment.

Such a proceeding preſents every reflection that can ariſe on the ſubject. The Porte has thought fit to unite perfidy with the moſt inſulting attack. She omits nothing to make manifeſt the ſtrong deſire that has been long felt to break a peace, which was granted in a manner the moſt generous and noble. Provoked by a conduct ſo offenſive, the empreſs ſees herſelf obliged unwillingly to take up arms, as the only means remaining of maintaining her rights, which ſhe has acquired with ſo much loſs of blood, and revenging her wounded dignity. Entirely innocent of all the evils attendant on the war now ready to be kindled, ſhe has a right to depend upon divine protection and the ſuccours of her friends, as alſo upon the devout prayers of all chriſtians, for her triumph in a cauſe of juſtice and ſelf-defence.

No. VIII.

NOTE *delivered the* 18*th of June, by the* RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR *at* STOCKHOLM, *to the* SWEDISH MINISTRY.

IN conſequence of the various objects on which the under-written envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of the imperial court of Ruſſia has lately conferred with his excellency count Oxenſtiern, he has now the honour to preſent to him a ſuccinct recapitulation of the ſame in the preſent note.

Whatever may have been the ſurpriſe of the empreſs my ſovereign, when ſhe was informed of the armaments carried on in Sweden, her imperial majeſty, not ſeeing any juſt motives which could occaſion them, reſolved to be ſilent as long as thoſe motions ſhould be confined to the interior parts of the kingdom. But being appriſed of the motives alleged by the ſenator count Oxenſtiern to the miniſter of Denmark, and which he, in conſequence of the intimacy ſubſiſting between the two courts, communicated to the under-written, her imperial majeſty has reſolved to break ſilence, and given orders to the under-written to enter into the following explanations with his Swediſh majeſty's miniſters.

During the twenty-ſix years of her reign, the empreſs has never ceaſed to give conſtant teſtimonies to the king, and to the whole Swediſh nation, of her wiſh to cultivate the moſt perfect harmony and good neighbourhood, ſuch as at the laſt peace was eſtabliſhed between the two ſtates; if, therefore, in the midſt of the repoſe which her empire enjoyed from its other neighbours, her imperial majeſty has never conceived the leaſt idea of diſturbing or altering, in any ſhape, the order of things, it would be arguing againſt every degree of probability to attribute it to her now, when ſhe finds

finds herſelf engaged in a war which has been unjuſtly excited againſt her by a powerful enemy, and to which ſhe cannot give too much attention. Provoked in this manner to diſplay all the means which ſhe holds from Providence, to repel the attack of her enemy, ſhe has not failed to make an amicable communication of it to all the chriſtian powers, and particularly ſhe obſerving this conduct when ſhe reſolved to arm a fleet to ſend into the Archipelago; which intention the under-written did, by her orders, communicate to the Swediſh miniſters. All theſe diſpoſitions and preparations being therefore viſibly and ſingly directed to the circumſtance in which Ruſſia found herſelf, were in no wiſe of a nature to alarm any neighbour, that did not nouriſh ſome ſecret intention to multiply her embarraſſments, and take advantage of them. But, admitting for a moment that the court of Ruſſia had intimated ſuch deſigns, that of Sweden, however contrary they are to the faith of the treaties which bind them, ſound reaſoning, as well as the intereſt of the former, would have confined all her meaſures to prevent their effects, and not to provoke them; and, in fact, ſuch as prudence dictated, and were adopted, after the rumours which were ſpread on all ſides of the armaments carrying on in Sweden, are reduced to a trifling reinforcement of the ruſſian troops in Finland, and the deſtination of the uſual ſquadron that annually cruiſes in the Baltic to exerciſe the ſeamen; a cuſtom to which Sweden has never given any attention, or occaſioned any umbrage.—Nevertheleſs, her armaments were daily advancing and increaſing, without the court of Stockholm thinking proper to give any formal notice of it to the court of Peterſburg; and then at laſt they were prepared. The ſenator, count von Oxenſtiern, in the name of the king, did not fail to declare to the miniſter of a court cloſely allied to Vienna, and conſequently, it may be preſumed, not bound to conceal it from us, that thoſe preparations were directed againſt Ruſſia, on a ſuppoſition that Sweden was threatened to be attacked by her.

In this ſituation, the empreſs, on her ſide, has as readily ordered the under-written to declare to his Swediſh majeſty's miniſtry, and to all thoſe who have any ſhare in the adminiſtration, that her imperial majeſty could not give them a more ſolid proof of her pacific diſpoſitions towards them, and of the intereſt ſhe takes in the preſervation of their tranquillity, than by aſſuring them, on her imperial word, that all the oppoſite intentions which ſome might impute to her, are void of all foundation; but if aſſurances ſo formal and ſo poſitive, joined to arguments ſo plain and convincing, are not ſufficient to reſtore calmneſs and tranquillity, her imperial majeſty is reſolved to await the event with that confidence and ſecurity which the purity and innocency of her intention afford her, as well as the powerful means which the Almighty has put into her hands, and which ſhe has never employed but for the glory of her empire and the happineſs of her ſubjects.

Stockholm, June 18, 1788.

(Signed) COUNT ANDRE RAZUMOFFSKY.

ANSWER *of the* COURT *of* STOCKHOLM *to the foregoing* RESCRIPT.

HIS majeſty could not avoid being ſurpriſed when he ſaw, in the note delivered on the 18th of June, by Mr. le comte de Razumoffſky, envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary from the court of Ruſſia, the manner in which it was attempted to diſtinguiſh between the king and the nation; and the aſſurances given by the empreſs of her diſpoſition in their favour, and of the intereſt which ſhe takes in the preſervation of their tranquillity.

Although in this language the king recognizes principles often divulged by the court of Ruſſia in other countries, his majeſty cannot reconcile ſuch friendly ſentiments on the part of the empreſs, with an inſinuation that tends directly to draw a diſtinction between him and his people; and, firmly

firmly reſolved never to admit ſuch a principle, he cannot believe that a declaration of that nature was ordered to be made to him by the court of Ruſſia. The king is rather willing to impute it to their miniſter only, reſiding at his court; but, ſurpriſed as well as hurt at the language it contains, which is at once irregular and hoſtile to the tranquillity of his kingdom, he cannot after this moment acknowledge the comte de Razumoffſky as envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at his court, reſerving himſelf, until his arrival in Finland, to anſwer the empreſs of Ruſſia on the other articles of the declaration, by his miniſter at Peterſburg. Meanwhile his majeſty finds himſelf obliged to require the departure of the comte de Razumoffſky, by announcing to that miniſter that he can no longer treat with him, as having in his written memorial offended both the principles of the Swediſh government and failed in the reſpect that is due to the perſon of the king.

The attention wherewith the king has honoured this miniſter ever ſince he knew him, ſtrongly marks the regret felt by his majeſty in commanding his departure; and nothing leſs than the powerful reaſons, of his dignity being perſonally offended, and the peace of his dominions rendered liable to be diſturbed by thoſe principles it has not ſcrupled to avow, could have influenced his majeſty to deſire the removal of a perſon who has ſuch claims upon his regard, that, in ſignifying his intentions to the comte de Razumoffſky, (whom he no longer acknowledges a public miniſter,) his majeſty allows him a week to make the neceſſary preparations. The king has alſo given orders for ſhips, and every other accommodation that can render his paſſage to St. Peterſburg convenient, that being the only mark of attention which the preſent circumſtances leave it in his power to ſhew to the comte de Razumoffſky.

COPY *of a* CIRCULAR NOTE *delivered by the* COURT *of* SWEDEN *to all the foreign* MINISTERS, *dated* STOCKHOLM, *June* 23, 1788.

WHILE the king, anxious to preſerve a good underſtanding with all his neighbours, neglected nothing in the cultivation of the ſame with the court of Ruſſia; he has been aſtoniſhed to obſerve the little effect which his ſentiments have produced on the miniſter of that power; whoſe language, for ſome months paſt, in his public conduct, ſtill appears to bear the marks of that ſyſtem of diſſenſion which his predeceſſors tranſmitted to him, and which they have perpetually laboured to extend. The king was always willing to deceive himſelf on this point, and wiſhed he could doubt the exiſtence of the efforts made by the Ruſſian envoy, to induce the Swediſh nation to return to thoſe errors which led it aſtray during the time of anarchy, and to diſſeminate anew, in the heart of the ſtate, that ancient ſpirit of diſcord, which Heaven and his majeſty's paternal care have happily extinguiſhed; till at length count Razumoffſky, by his note of the 18th of June, has extinguiſhed all thoſe doubts the king was ſtill deſirous of preſerving on this ſubject. Amidſt the declarations of the empreſs's friendſhip for the king, with which the note is filled, this miniſter has not heſitated to appeal to others beſides the king. He addreſſed himſelf to all the members of adminiſtration, as well as to the nation itſelf, to aſſure them of the ſentiments of his ſovereign, and how much ſhe has their tranquillity at heart. This Sweden, however, derives ſolely from its proper union; and the king could not but ſee, with the greateſt ſurpriſe, a declaration expreſſed in ſuch terms, diſcerning therein but too much of the policy and language uſed by that miniſter's predeceſſors; who, not content with ſowing diviſions among his majeſty's ſubjects, wanted to ſet up other authorities in oppoſition to the legitimate power, and to undermine

undermine the fundamental laws of the kingdom, by calling in aid of their aſſertions witneſſes which the form of government cannot recognize. It was in vain that his majeſty ſought to reconcile the aſſurances of the friendſhip of the empreſs of Ruſſia on one ſide, with the appeal to the ſubjects of Sweden on the other. Every miniſter being charged to declare the ſentiments of his maſter, ought not, nor can announce to them any other than the ſovereign by whom his credentials have been accepted. All other authority is unknown to him, and every other witneſs ſuperfluous. Such is the law, ſuch is the conſtant practice in all the courts of Europe, and this rule has never ceaſed to be obſerved, unleſs when by captious inſinuations the only aim has been (as heretofore in Sweden) to embroil matters, to confound every thing, and again to ſet up thoſe barriers which form the diſtinction between the nation and their ſovereign. Thus hurt, in a way moſt nearly affecting his dignity, and no longer hearing from count Razumoffſky the language of a miniſter, hitherto charged to convey the friendly ſentiments of the empreſs; but, at the ſame time, unable to conceive, that expreſſions ſo contrary to the fundamental laws of Sweden, and which, by dividing the king and the ſtate, would render every ſubject culpable, were preſcribed to him, the king chuſes rather to attribute them to the private ſentiments of the Ruſſian miniſter, of which he has given ſufficient indication, than to the orders of his court. In the mean time, after what has paſſed, after declarations as contrary to the happineſs of the kingdom as to the laws and reſpect due to the king, his majeſty can no longer conſider count Razumoffſky in the quality of a miniſter, and finds himſelf obliged to require his departure from Sweden, confiding to his ambaſſador at the court of Ruſſia the anſwer to the other points which have been juſt communicated.

Nothing leſs than ſo direct an attack on the dignity of the king, on the part of count Razumoffſky, could induce his

his majeſty to inſiſt on the departure of one, whom he has honoured with particular regard. But ſeeing himſelf reduced to ſuch neceſſity with regret, his majeſty, in conſequence of his former good-will, has endeavoured to ſoften the diſagreeable nature of this event, by the care he takes in regard to count Razumoffſky's departure, and by the attention that will be paid to the time, and to his accommodation in his voyage to St. Peterſburg.

His majeſty wiſhing that the diplomatic body ſhould be acquainted with the foregoing occurrences, the ſenator count Oxenſtiern has the honour of communicating the ſame.

(Signed) OXENSTIERN.

DECLARATION *of the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS, *againſt the* KING *of* SWEDEN, *June* 30, 1788.

IT was towards the end of the laſt winter that the armaments by ſea and land began to ſhew themſelves in Sweden.—Whiſpers were purpoſely circulated in the kingdom, as if Ruſſia meditated an attack. In proportion as theſe preparations advanced, and as it was believed they had made an impreſſion on ſome national ſpirits, the cabinet of Stockholm began to extend rumours of the ſame kind, even to foreign courts. The empreſs has the ſatisfaction to learn that theſe inſinuations have every where failed of their aim. In truth, the courts of Europe are too enlightened to believe that Ruſſia, after having for ſo long a time maintained a pacific ſyſtem in regard to Sweden, had choſen to depart from it in the moment when ſhe was engaged in a war ſo ſerious as that in which the Ottoman Porte had involved her.

In the mean time, the empreſs, attentive to every thing which paſſed in a place ſo adjacent to her territories, judged it neceſſary, on the information and advice which ſhe received, not to neglect to take meaſures of precaution. But, anxious to avoid every thing which might give umbrage or excite alarm, ſhe contented herſelf with ordering to Finland a ſlight

a ſlight reinforcement of troops, and with eſtabliſhing in this province magazines proportioned to their number, and indiſpenſably neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence. In fine, repoſing on the innocence and rectitude of her intentions, on the religious obſervance of the perpetual treaty ſubſiſting between the empire of Ruſſia and the kingdom of Sweden; and above all, not knowing of any one ſubject of diſcuſſion, open or concealed, between the two courts—the amicable correſpondence, on the contrary, continuing as uſual between them—ſhe had undoubtedly every right to think, that, great as might be the ambition, the uneaſineſs, and the envy of the imperial powers, the true motives that could impel the Swediſh monarch to make war on her muſt be repreſſed by the reſpect to good faith, which ought to actuate the hearts of ſovereigns even more than of other men; by the impoſſibility of giving any colour of equity to the ſcope which he wiſhed to give to his paſſions; and, in fine, by the obſtacle, equally ſtrong, that of the ſolemn compact he had made with his people, not to undertake any war without aſſembling, conſulting, and obtaining the conſent of his ſubjects.

Nothing could prove more effectually the ſatisfaction which ſhould have been placed in her imperial majeſty's various aſſurances, than the reſolution which ſhe took of detaching from the fleet deſtined for the Archipelago a ſquadron of only three ſhips, which ſhe ſent to ſea in the beginning of this month, notwithſtanding the poſitive advices ſhe had of all the Swediſh fleet being cruizing in the Baltic. Theſe ſhips, three days after their departure from the port of Cronſtadt, fell in, off the iſle of Dago, with the Swediſh fleet, which detached a frigate, the captain of which came aboard of the ſhip of the vice-admiral Vanderſeer, who commanded this little ſquadron. The captain of the frigate announced to the vice-admiral the preſence of the duke of Sudermania, the king's brother, the commander of the Swediſh fleet, and required the ſalute. The vice-admiral replied,

replied, that by the 17th article of the treaty of Abo, no ſalute could take place between the Ruſſian and Swediſh fleets; but that reſpecting, in the perſon of the duke of Sudermania the couſin-german of the empreſs, and the brother of the king of Sweden, he had no difficulty in rendering to theſe diſtinctions all the honours that were due. He then ordered a ſalute with thirteen guns, and ſent an officer on board the duke's ſhip to pay his compliments, and to announce to him at the ſame time, that it was to his perſon only that the honours were addreſſed. The anſwer of the duke of Sudermania was, that although he was not ignorant of the tenor of the convention made between the courts of Sweden and Ruſſia, in regard to the ſalute, he would not accept of that which was to be rendered, unleſs it was given to the Swediſh flag, as he had received the moſt preciſe orders from the king his brother to make that flag reſpected in every place, and on every occaſion.

The empreſs had hardly time to make her complaints on the injuſtice and irregularity of this proceeding to the court of Stockholm, when ſhe was informed of that other, ſtill leſs expected, of the diſmiſſion of her miniſter from the Swediſh court and territories. The pretended reaſons of this meaſure are expoſed in the declaration of the king made to the miniſters of foreign courts. Theſe reaſons are not calculated to impoſe on the moſt unenlightened, and they therefore require no anſwer; but one cannot help obſerving, that it is the firſt example of the kind by which a ſovereign aſſured his ſubjects of the pacific and benevolent ſentiments he entertained towards them.

In the mean time the empreſs, reſolved to continue to the laſt in the principles of moderation ſhe had profeſſed, confined her reſentment of this proceeding to the retaliation which ſhe was naturally authoriſed to uſe in regard to the miniſter of the king of Sweden. She ſignified to him to quit her court in the ſame ſpace of time which had been fixed for her miniſter at Stockholm. The only difference

in the proceeding was, that all falſe and inſidious imputation was carefully avoided.—This difference has been eſtabliſhed and demonſtrated indeed by the good faith which has accompanied the cauſe of the empreſs, and the breach of faith which has marked the whole conduct of the king of Sweden.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſcenes, which threatened an almoſt inevitable war, the empreſs was pleaſed to cheriſh hopes that the amicable explanations which the Swediſh monarch had himſelf promiſed the foreign powers, might yet tend to preſerve the good harmony and neighbourhood, which no one reaſon of ſtate on either ſide had a tendency to interrupt. But this hope is totally vaniſhed. She learns that on the 21ſt or 22d of this month the troops of the king of Sweden having fallen haſtily on the frontiers of Ruſſia, have carried off the money depoſited in ſeveral cuſtom-houſes, have penetrated to the environs of Nieſlat, and have even opened the ſiege of its caſtle.

It is by a ſeries of violent proceedings (of which every one infringes on the rights the moſt generally received among civilized nations) that the king of Sweden, without having complained of one grievance againſt Ruſſia, has at length puſhed to the uttermoſt the moderation of the empreſs, and has obliged her to have recourſe to the only remedy which is left her, of repelling force by force. It is with regret that ſhe iſſues her orders to the commanders of her forces by land and ſea. In making known this reſolution, as well as the motives that have provoked her to it, to the friendly powers, ſhe proteſts to them, that the king of Sweden is alone reſponſible to God, to the world, and to his own people, for all the calamities to which his ambition and injuſtice may give riſe.

EXHORT-

EXHORTATION *of the* KING *of* SWEDEN *to his* SUBJECTS.

WE Guſtavus, by the grace of God king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, to all our faithful ſubjects health! commending them to the care of the Almighty, with our favour and particular good-will.

Seeing ourſelves again attacked by enemies on another ſide of our kingdom, and obliged to arm, in order to defend our ſtates and the independence of our dear country, no leſs than your lives, your property, your liberties, and your welfare, we doubt not that our dear ſubjects will with the arms aſſume the courage of their anceſtors, with firmneſs and unanimity to repulſe the enterpriſes of our enemies—more eſpecially as ourſelf ſhall ſet them the example, like our illuſtrious predeceſſors, to defend, to the very laſt man, the independence of a kingdom, that boaſts ſo remote an antiquity. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not conceal from you, my ſubjects, all the means which the enemy wiſhes to employ, in order to ſubjugate a people, whoſe valour they have often experienced to their detriment.

As they cannot hope to effect our common ruin ſolely by open force, they are ſtriving to excite diſcord, as well between yourſelves, as between you and us, fomenting jealouſies by ſecret intrigues, and provoking quarrels, in the full perſuaſion that a Swediſh king, united with the Swediſh nation, could not eaſily be brought under their yoke. We exhort you, then, in the name of the Almighty God, as the true and only defender of kings and ſtates, that you will not liſten to treacherous inſinuations, but that you will conſtantly perſevere in the fidelity which we have a right to expect from you, and which, during ſixteen years of our reign, we have no leſs experienced than deſerved. We have alſo to give you the happy information, that the principal powers in Europe now in alliance with each other, which intereſt themſelves in the independence of the Swediſh nation, are at this preſent moment endeavouring to accompliſh

accompliſh our wiſhes in the reſtoration of peace; which we hope, with the help of the Almighty, will, by our joint efforts, ſoon be eſtabliſhed. We truſt, that ſo ſoon as that ſalutary end ſhall be attained, we ſhall have the ſatisfaction to meet our ſubjects, united in the ſtricteſt bonds of concord, in a general diet of the ſtates, where we may offer up our thankſgivings to the Supreme Being, for his protection vouchſafed to us, and to our kingdom. In the mean while, we recommend you to his all-powerful hand; and we remain in the utmoſt affection towards you all, of whatſoever rank, with all our royal favour and good-will.

(Signed) GUSTAVUS.

Done at Carlſtadt, Sept. 26, 1788.

(and lower)

HERM. VON LAASTBONE.

DECLARATION, *and* COUNTER-DECLARATION, *between* DENMARK *and* SWEDEN.

DECLARATION.

HIS Daniſh majeſty has ordered the under-ſigned to declare, that although he complies with the treaty between the courts of Peterſburg and Copenhagen, in furniſhing the former with the number of ſhips and troops ſtipulated by ſeveral treaties, and particularly that of 1781; he yet conſiders himſelf in perfect amity and peace with his Swediſh majeſty: which friendſhip ſhall not be interrupted, although the Swediſh arms ſhould prove victorious, either in repulſing, defeating, or taking priſoners the Daniſh troops now in the Swediſh territories, acting as Ruſſian auxiliaries under Ruſſian flags. Nor does he conceive that his Swediſh majeſty has the leaſt ground to complain, ſo long as the Daniſh ſhips and troops now acting againſt Sweden do not exceed the number ſtipulated by treaty; and it is his earneſt deſire, that all friendly and commercial intercourſe between the two nations, and the good underſtanding between the courts

courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, remain inviolably as heretofore.

(Signed) Count De Bernstorf.

Delivered to the baron de Sprengporten, his Swediſh majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Copenhagen, Sept. 23, 1788.

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

THE declaratory note delivered by the count Bernſtorf to the under-ſigned, in which his Daniſh majeſty conceives that his Swediſh majeſty cannot have any ground of complaint, as long as the Daniſh ſhips and troops merely act as auxiliaries to Ruſſia, is a doctrine which his Swediſh majeſty cannot altogether reconcile with the law of nations and rights of ſovereigns, and againſt which his majeſty has ordered the under-ſigned to proteſt.

Nevertheleſs, to prevent an effuſion of blood between the ſubjects of the two kingdoms, and particularly at the moment when a negotiation has begun to reſtore perfect peace and tranquillity in the north of Europe, which affords a pleaſing proſpect of a general pacification; his Swediſh majeſty, from motives of a love of peace, waves entering into a ſpeculative diſcuſſion, whether or not there is a cauſe or ground of complaint, on his ſide, and reſts perfectly ſatisfied with the aſſurances contained in his Daniſh majeſty's declaration, that his Daniſh majeſty has no hoſtile views againſt Sweden, and that the friendly and commercial intercourſe between the ſubjects of both kingdoms, and the good underſtanding between the two courts, ſhall remain uninterrupted.

His Swediſh majeſty puts the ſtrongeſt faith and utmoſt confidence in what Mr. Elliot, envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, has repreſented to him on this important occaſion.

His majeſty, therefore, to prevent the horrors of war, and the calamities impending over the two nations; anxious to behold peace and union reſtored between them; embraces with

with ſatisfaction his Daniſh majeſty's declaration, and particularly as it will facilitate the negotiation for a general peace which is happily begun through the mediation of Great Britain, France, Holland, and Pruſſia, and the good ſucceſs of which is the greateſt object of his majeſty's ambition, and which his majeſty has fully declared to the aforeſaid Mr. Elliot, provided the defeating of the Ruſſian auxiliaries is not conſidered as hoſtilities againſt his Daniſh majeſty, agreeable to the declaration delivered by count Bernſtorf.

(Signed) Baron de SPRENGPORTEN.

Dated Stockholm, October 6, 1788, and delivered to the count Bernſtorf at Copenhagen.

COPY *of a* DECLARATION *delivered to the Confederated* STATES *of* POLAND *by the Pruſſian Miniſter at* WARSAW, *dated October* 12, 1788, *on the Subject of an intended Alliance between* RUSSIA *and* POLAND.

IF the projected alliance between Ruſſia and Poland has for its firſt object the conſervation of the ſtates of Poland, the king does not ſee the neceſſity or utility of it, becauſe the ſafety of Poland is ſufficiently guaranteed by the laſt treaties. It cannot be ſuppoſed that her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, or her ally the emperor of Germany, would infringe theirs. It muſt then be ſuppoſed the king has ſuch a deſign; and, in conſequence, this alliance is directed againſt him.

Thus the king cannot but object and proteſt ſolemnly againſt the ſaid alliance, as tending to break the good harmony eſtabliſhed between Pruſſia and Poland by the moſt ſolemn treaties.

If, in the ſecond place, this alliance is directed againſt the common enemy, and if under this qualification is included the Ottoman Porte; the king, out of friendſhip for the republic of Poland, cannot but repreſent, that the Porte having always religiouſly obſerved the peace of Carlowitz;

and that during the whole courſe of the preſent war they have carefully avoided the ſtates of the republic, there will infallibly reſult the moſt dangerous conſequences, as well for the ſtates of the republic, as for thoſe of his Pruſſian majeſty which are next adjoining, if Poland contracts alliances which authorize the Porte to regard Poland as an enemy. Every loyal and enlightened citizen of Poland will ſee at once how difficult and impoſſible it will be to defend his country againſt an enemy ſo near, ſo formidable, and ſo reſtleſs.

The king cannot then be indifferent to the project of an alliance, which menaces not only the greateſt danger towards the republic, but to his own ſtates, and which will infallibly extend farther the flames of war, already too general.

The king finds nothing to object againſt the republic of Poland's augmenting its army, and putting its forces in a reſpectable ſtate. But he leaves to the conſideration of the good citizens of Poland, if, in each augmentation of the army of Poland, a power is not given to engage the republic in a war which is abſolutely foreign to it, and conſequently leading to grievous conſequences. The king is flattered, that his majeſty the king of Poland, and the ſtates of the ſerene republic aſſembled in the preſent diet, will take into mature deliberation all that his majeſty now repreſents, in the way and through motives of the moſt ſincere friendſhip, and for the true welfare and common intereſt of the two ſtates, ſo cloſely united by the indiſſoluble ties of a perpetual alliance.

His majeſty alſo hopes, that her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia will not refuſe her approbation to motives ſo juſt, and ſo conformable to the welfare of the Poliſh nation; and he expects alſo with confidence, from one part and the other, that they deſiſt from the project of an alliance ſo little neceſſary, but always ſo dangerous for Poland. It is in this hope, that his majeſty invites all the true patriots and good citizens of Poland to unite with him, to prevent, by their union and wiſe meaſures, the imminent danger with which

their

their country is menaced. And they may depend, that his majeſty will grant them the neceſſary aſſiſtance, and the moſt powerful ſuccours, for maintaining the independence, liberty, and ſecurity of Poland.

Given at Warſaw, the 12th of October 1788.

LOUIS DE BUCKHOLZ.

ANSWER *of the* DIET *at* WARSAW *to the* KING *of* PRUSSIA'S DECLARATION.

THE under-ſigned, by the expreſs orders of the king and the confederate ſtates of the diet, has the honour to tranſmit to M. de Buckholz the following anſwer:

The reading of the ſaid declaration of his Pruſſian majeſty, in a full council, on the 13th, has impreſſed the ſtates aſſembled with a lively ſenſe of the generous manner in which the king has acted as a friend and neighbour, in aſſuring to Poland the ſafety of its poſſeſſions.

The project of an alliance between Ruſſia and Poland, not having been propoſed either to the permanent council, or to the diet when free, and afterwards confederated, is not therefore an object of the act of union, which leads the buſineſs of the diet, conformably to the general will of the nation; and the propoſitions coming from the throne reſpecting the augmentation of impoſts, and the military of the republic, are not in the ſyſtem of an offenſive force, but ſolely for defending and preſerving its poſſeſſions and its free government.

If in the already determined proceeding the ſtates aſſembled receive a propoſition and a project of an alliance, the republic, being held by the ſame nature of a diet, in ſo public a ſtep will never veil its proceedings, but act conformably to the independence of its ſovereignty, to the rules of prudence, to the ſacred principles of public faith, and to the deference due to the friendly ſentiments of his majeſty the king of Pruſſia.

The general will, ever right and ever public, forming the ſpirit of the deliberations of the preſent diet, the ſtates aſſembled unanimouſly make it their wiſh to fix in the opinion of his pruſſian majeſty an advantageous idea of their underſtandings, and their patriotiſm.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS NALZEL MALACHOFFSKY.

Referendary of the crown, marſhal of the diet, and of the confederation of the crown.

(Signed) CASIMIR PRINCE SAPIEHA,

General of artillery of Lithuania, marſhal of the confederation of the grand duchy of Lithuania.

Warſaw, Oct. 20th, 1788.

No. IX.

ARTICLES *of the* QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE *between* RUSSIA, AUSTRIA, FRANCE, *and* SPAIN.

I. THAT in caſe any of the parties are attacked, by ſea or land, the other three ſhall defend with money, forces, or ſhipping.

II. The treaties of 1748, 1753, 1756, the Bourbon Family Compact in 1761, and the Convention between Auſtria and Ruſſia in 1787, ſhall be in full force.

III. Their moſt chriſtian and catholic majeſties oblige themſelves to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality in the preſent war with the Turks. But in caſe the emperor ſhould be attacked by any other power, the french king is to furniſh him 30,000 men, or an equivalent in money, on demand. And in caſe the french king is attacked, the emperor is to furniſh the like ſuccours.

IV. The

IV. The king of Spain agrees, on his part, to the aforeſaid third article, as the emperor alſo does toward the king of Spain.

V. If the empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould be attacked in the preſent war with the Turks, his moſt chriſtian majeſty engages to aſſiſt her with eight ſhips of the line and ſix frigates; and his catholic majeſty is to furniſh the like ſuccours; the empreſs of Ruſſia binding herſelf to furniſh either or both powers with an equal aſſiſtance, in caſe any attack is made on them.

VI. The treaty of commerce between France and Ruſſia, made in 1787, ſhall be in full force, and a ſimilar treaty be ſigned by Ruſſia and Spain.

VII. The treaty of 1761, between France and Spain, to be in full force.

VIII. Though this treaty is to be purely defenſive, the parties agree, that if any of them are attacked, the other three ſhall not make peace, until the province which is invaded is reſtored back in the ſame ſtate it was before attacked.

IX. Whenever any of the parties ſhall, by their ambaſſadors, demand ſtipulated ſuccours, the ſaid ambaſſadors ſhall be reciprocally admitted into the councils of war, and deliberate upon and ſettle whatever may be moſt advantageous to the four contracting parties; and the auxiliary ſuccours are to be augmented as events may require.

X. The high contracting parties ſhall have liberty to invite ſuch other powers to accede to the preſent treaty as they may think proper.

XI. Denmark, as an ally of Ruſſia, ſhall be ſpecially invited to accede thereto.

No. X.

TREATY *of* PEACE *concluded between the* KING *of* SWEDEN *and the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS.

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity!

HIS majeſty the king of Sweden, and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, equally deſirous of putting an end to the war which had unhappily broke out between them, and to re-eſtabliſh the friendſhip, harmony, and good neighbourhood, which have long ſubſiſted between their reſpective ſtates and countries, have reciprocally communicated to each other their pacific intentions; and with a view to realize them, they have appointed and authorized, viz. his majeſty the king of Sweden, the ſieur Guſtavus von Armfeldt, baron of Vorentatha, &c. and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, the ſieur Otho Henry von Igelſtrom, lieutenant-general of her armies, &c. who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, and found them duly authorized, and in proper form, and having mutually exchanged them, have agreed on the following articles:

I. There ſhall be henceforward, between his majeſty the king of Sweden and his eſtates, countries, and nations, on one part, and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and her eſtates, countries, and nations, on the other, perpetual peace, good neighbourhood, and perfect tranquillity, both by ſea and land; and conſequently, the moſt ſpeedy orders for the ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhall be given by each party. Whatever is paſt ſhall be forgotten: attention will only be paid to the re-eſtabliſhment of that harmony and mutual good-will which has been interrupted by the preſent war.

II. The

II. The limits and frontiers ſhall, on each ſide, continue as they were before the rupture, or the beginning of the preſent war.

III. Therefore all the countries, provinces, or places whatever, which have been taken or occupied by the troops of either of the contracting parties, ſhall be evacuated as ſpeedily as poſſible, or in 14 days after the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty.

IV. All priſoners of war, or others who, not bearing arms, have been taken by either of the belligerent parties during the courſe of hoſtilities, ſhall be ſet at liberty by each party without ranſom; and they ſhall be permitted to return home without any indemnification being required by either party for their maintenance; but they ſhall be obliged to pay the debts which they have contracted with individuals of each reſpective ſtate.

V. And, in order to prevent the giving the leaſt occaſion for a miſunderſtanding at ſea between the contracting parties, it is ſtipulated and agreed, that whenever one or more ſwediſh men of war, whether ſmall or great, ſhall paſs by the forts of her imperial majeſty, they ſhall be obliged to give a ſalute in the ſwediſh manner; which ſhall be immediately anſwered by a ſalute in the ruſſian mode. The ſame ſhall be obſerved by ruſſian men of war, whether one or more; they ſhall be obliged to ſalute before the forts of his ſwediſh majeſty, and they ſhall be anſwered by a ſwediſh ſalute.

In the mean time, the high contracting parties ſhall order, as ſpeedily as poſſible, a particular convention to be made, in which the mode of ſaluting between ſwediſh and ruſſian ſhips ſhall be eſtabliſhed, whether at ſea, in port, or wherever they may chance to meet.

Till then, in order to prevent miſtakes in the above caſe, ſhips of war belonging to either party ſhall not ſalute each other.

VI. Her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias has alſo agreed, that his ſwediſh majeſty ſhall be at liberty to buy

every year corn to the amount of 50,000 rubles in the ports of the gulph of Finland and of the Baltic ſea, provided it be proved that it is for the uſe of his ſwediſh majeſty, or for the uſe of ſome of his ſubjects duly authorized by his majeſty, without dues or charges, and to export it freely into Sweden. In this, however, barren years ſhall not be included, nor ſuch years in which, for ſome important reaſons, her imperial majeſty may be induced to forbid the exportation of grain to any nation whatever.

VII. As the eagerneſs of the high contracting parties for the ſpeedy termination of thoſe evils with which their reſpective ſubjects have been afflicted, in conſequence of war, does not allow them time for the regulation of many points, and objects tending to eſtabliſh firmly a good neighbourhood and perfect tranquillity of the frontiers, they agree, and mutually promiſe to pay attention to thoſe points and objects, and to diſcuſs and regulate them amicably by means of ambaſſadors or plenipotentiary miniſters, whom they ſhall appoint immediately after the concluſion of the preſent treaty of peace.

VIII. The ratifications of the preſent treaty of peace ſhall be exchanged within the ſpace of ſix days, or ſooner if poſſible.

In teſtimony whereof, we have ſigned the preſent treaty of peace, and ſealed it with our arms.

Done in the plain of Vercle, near the river Kymene, between the advanced poſts of each camp, the 11th of Auguſt 1790,

GUSTAVUS MAURE, BARON VON ARMFELDT,
OTHO, BARON VON IGELSTROM.

No. XI.

MANIFESTO *of the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS, *relative to the Partition of* POLAND.

I MICHAEL Krechetnicoff, general in chief, ſenator, general-governor of Tula, Kaluga, and the countries newly annexed from the poliſh republic to the ruſſian empire, commander of all the armies there, &c. hereby make known, by the ſupreme will and command of my moſt gracious ſovereign her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, to all the inhabitants in general of the countries now united for ever to the ruſſian empire from the poliſh republic:

Her imperial majeſty has hitherto taken, in the affairs of Poland, a part that has always been tending to the intereſt of both empires. It has not only been unſucceſsful, but proved a fruitleſs burthen; and her endeavours to maintain peace and freedom among her neighbours have been attended with innumerable loſſes.

Thirty years of experience has evinced it, in the numerous internal diſputes which have diſtracted the poliſh republic. Her imperial majeſty has viewed their ſufferings, in the countries and cities bordering on her empire, with great compaſſion, conſidering them as deſcending from the ſame race, and profeſſing the holy chriſtian religion.

Even at this moment, ſome unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, have not been aſhamed to approve the government of the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, and to requeſt their aſſiſtance to involve their country alſo in bloody civil wars.

The true chriſtian religion, and the well-being of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned countries, would ſuffer from the introduction of ſuch deteſtable doctrines, which tend to annihilate all the bonds of ſociety, to overthrow all ſafety, property, and proſperity. Theſe enemies of peace, following

following the deteſtable plan of the mob of rebels in France, propagate their doctrines throughout Poland to the utmoſt of their power, which would deſtroy for ever their own and their neighbours happineſs.

From theſe conſiderations, her imperial majeſty, my moſt gracious miſtreſs, as well to indemnify herſelf for her many loſſes, as for the future ſafety of her empire and the poliſh dominions, and for the cutting off at once, for ever, all future diſturbances and frequent changes of government, has been pleaſed now to take under her ſway, and to unite for ever to her empire, the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants: namely, a line beginning at the village of Druy, on the left bank of the river Dwina, at the corner of the border of Semigallia; thence extending to Neroch and Dubrova, and following the border of the voivodſhip of Vilna to Stolptſa, to Neſvij, and then to Pinſk; and thence paſſing Kuniſh, between Viſkero and Novegreble, near the frontier of Gallicia; thence to the river Dnieſter; and, laſtly, running along the river, till it enters the old border of Ruſſia and Poland at Jergetick: in ſuch manner, that all the cities and countries within this line of demarcation, the new border of Ruſſia and Poland, ſhall henceforward, for ever, come under the ſceptre of the ruſſian empire, and the inhabitants, of all ranks whatever, be ſubjects thereof.

I being appointed by her imperial majeſty governor-general of theſe countries, by her ſupreme order have to certify, in her ſacred name, and in her own words, to all her imperial majeſty's new ſubjects, and now my beloved countrymen, that her moſt gracious majeſty is pleaſed, not only to confirm and enſure to all, the free and public exerciſe of their religion, and full ſecurity of property and poſſeſſion, but to unite and to affiliate them under her government, for the fame and glory of the whole ruſſian empire; an example of which is to be ſeen in her faithful ſubjects, the inhabitants of White Ruſſia, now living in full peace and plenty under her wiſe and gracious dominion. Further, that all and

every

every one of them ſhall enjoy all the rights and privileges of her old ſubjects; and that from this day, every denomination of the inhabitants enters on the full participation of theſe benefits through the whole extent of the ruſſian empire.

Her imperial majeſty expects, from the gratitude of her new ſubjects, that they, being placed by her bounty on an equality with Ruſſians, ſhall in return transfer the love of their former country to the new one, and live, in future, attached to ſo great and generous an empreſs.

I therefore now inform every perſon, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that, within one month, they muſt take the oath of allegiance before the witneſſes whom I ſhall appoint; and if any of the gentlemen, or other ranks, poſſeſſing real or immovable property, regardleſs of their own intereſt, ſhould refuſe to take the oath preſcribed, three months are allowed for the ſale of their immovables, and their free departure over the borders; after the expiration of which term, all their remaining property ſhall be confiſcated to the crown.

The clergy, both high and low, as paſtors of their flocks, are expected to ſet the example in taking the oath; and in the daily ſervice in their churches they muſt pray for her imperial majeſty, for her ſucceſſor the great duke Paul Petrovitch, and for all the imperial family, according to the form which ſhall be given them.

In the above-mentioned ſolemn aſſurance concerning the free exerciſe of religion and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of property, it is underſtood that the jews living in theſe countries united to the ruſſian empire, ſhall remain on the former footing, protected in their religion and property; for her majeſty's humanity will not permit them alone to be excluded from the benefits of her kindneſs, under the protection of God; ſo long as they continue to live in peace, and purſue their trades like faithful ſubjects, law and juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered, in the name of her imperial majeſty, in the proper places, with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs and equity.

I have

I have further thought it needful to add, by order of her imperial majeſty, that the troops ſhall, as in their own country, be under the ſtricteſt diſcipline. Their taking poſſeſſion, therefore, of the various places, and changing the government, ſhould not in the leaſt alter the courſe of trade or living; for the increaſe of the happineſs of the inhabitants in all parts is the intention of her imperial majeſty.

This manifeſto ſhall be read in all the churches on the 27th of this preſent month of March, regiſtered in all the municſpal books, and nailed up in proper places, for the general information; and that full credit may be given to it, I have, in conſequence of the powers entruſted to me, ſigned it with my hand, and affixed to it the ſeal of my arms, at the head-quarters of the army under my command at Polonna.

(Signed) M. KRECHETNICOFF.

MANIFESTO *of his* PRUSSIAN MAJESTY *relative to the Partition of* POLAND, MARCH 25.

WE Frederic William, by the grace of God, king of Pruſſia, &c. make known to the reſpective ſtates, biſhops, abbots, voivodes, caſtle-keepers, ſtahroſts, chamberlains, and country judges; the knighthood, vaſſals, and nobles, the magiſtrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of the ſpiritual and ſecular inhabitants of the voivodeſhips of Poſen, Gneſen, Kaliſh, Siradia, the city and monaſtery of Chentochowa, the province of Wielun; the voivodeſhip of Lentſchitz, the province of Cujavia, the province of Doorzyn, the voivodeſhips of Rava and Plotzk, &c. in the circle of the boundaries, as likewiſe the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, hitherto in the poſſeſſion of the crown of Poland, our gracious will, royal grace, and all ſorts of good, and give them the following moſt gracious notice:

It

It is univerſally known that the poliſh nation never ceaſed to afford to the neighbouring powers, and chiefly to the pruſſian ſtate, frequent reaſons of juſt diſcontent. Not ſatisfied (contrary to all rules of good neighbourhood) with injuring the pruſſian territory, by frequent invaſions, with moleſting and ill-uſing the ſubjects on this ſide the frontiers, and with almoſt continually refuſing them juſtice and lawful ſatisfaction; this nation have, beſides, always buſied themſelves with pernicious plans, which muſt needs attract the attention of the neighbouring powers. Theſe are matters of fact which could not eſcape the eye of an attentive obſerver of the late occurrences in Poland: but what chiefly excited the ſerious conſideration of the neighbouring powers is, the ſpirit of rebellion continually increaſing in Poland, and the viſible influence which was obtained by thoſe abominable exertions, by which all civil, political, and religious ties would have been diſſolved, and the inhabitants of Poland expoſed to all the tremendous conſequences of anarchy, and plunged into miſeries, the end of which could not be foreſeen.

If in every country the adoption and ſpreading of ſuch deſtructive principles is always attended with the loſs of the tranquillity and happineſs of its inhabitants, its deſtructive conſequences are the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland; ſince this nation have always diſtinguiſhed themſelves by diſturbances and party ſpirit, and are powerful enough of themſelves to become dangerous to their neighbours by theſe diſturbances.

It would certainly militate againſt the firſt rules of ſound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preſervation of tranquillity in our dominions, if, in ſuch a ſtate of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive ſpectators, and ſhould wait for the period when the factions feel themſelves ſtrong enough to appear in public; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be expoſed to ſeveral dangers, by the conſequences of the anarchy on our frontiers.

We

We have, therefore, in conjunction with her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, and with the aſſent of his majeſty the roman emperor, acknowledged, that the ſafety of our ſtates did require to ſet to the republic of Poland ſuch boundaries as are more compatible with her interior ſtrength and ſituation, and may facilitate to her the means of procuring, without prejudice to her liberty, a well-ordered, ſolid, and active form of government; of maintaining herſelf in the undiſturbed enjoyment of the ſame; and preventing, by theſe means, the diſturbances which have ſo often ſhaken her own tranquillity, and endangered the ſafety of her neighbours.

In order to attain this end, and to preſerve the republic of Poland from the dreadful conſequences which muſt be the reſult of her internal diviſions, and to reſcue her from her utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the deſtructive doctrines which they are bent to follow; there is, according to our thorough perſuaſion, to which alſo her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias accedes, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our ſtates, and for this purpoſe immediately to take poſſeſſion of the ſame, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might ariſe from the continuance of the reciprocal diſturbances.

Wherefore we have reſolved, with the aſſent of her ruſſian majeſty, to take poſſeſſion of the above-mentioned diſtricts of Poland, and alſo of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, in order to incorporate them into our dominions.

We herewith publicly announce our firm and unſhaken reſolution, and expect that the poliſh nation will ſoon aſſemble in the diet, and adopt the neceſſary meaſures to the end of ſettling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the ſalutary end of ſecuring to the republic of Poland an undiſturbed peace, and preſerving her inhabitants from the terrible conſequences of anarchy. At the ſame time, we exhort the ſtates and inhabitants of the diſtricts and towns which we have taken poſſeſſion of, as already mentioned,

tioned, both in a gracious and ſerious manner, not to oppoſe our commanders and troops ordered for that purpoſe, but rather tractably to ſubmit to our government, and acknowledge us, from this day forward, as their lawful king and ſovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient ſubjects, and to renounce all connection with the crown of Poland.

We doubt not that all whom this may concern will attend to it with obedience; but in caſe, and contrary to all expectation, ſome one or other ſtate and inhabitants of the ſaid diſtricts and towns ſhould refuſe to obey the contents of this, and not take the oath of allegiance, nor ſubmit to our government, or even attempt to oppoſe our commanders and troops, ſuch perſon or perſons have unavoidably to expect, that the puniſhments uſual in ſuch caſes ſhall be inflicted upon them without any diſtinction.

In witneſs whereof we have ſubſcribed this patent with our own hand, and cauſed our royal ſeal to be ſet to it, to be publiſhed in due place, and to be publicly printed.

Done at Berlin the 25th of March 1793.

FREDERIC WILLIAM, (L. S.)

DECLARATION *of the* KING *and* REPUBLIC *of* POLAND, *aſſembled in Diet at* GRODNO, *proteſting againſt the forcible Partition of* POLAND, *Sept.* 24.

SURROUNDED cloſely by foreign troops on the 2d of this month, threatened with further invaſion of the territory of the republic by the pruſſian armies, to its uttermoſt ruin, and oppreſſed by innumerable violences, the ſtates in diet aſſembled were forced to give leave to their deputation for ſigning the impoſed treaty, with addition of a few clauſes, and ſuch only as the dictating power itſelf ſeemed in pity to approve of. But with grief and ſurprize we find, by the ſad experience of this day, that the court of Berlin is not ſatisfied therewith. We ſee freſh acts of violence forcing a new project upon us; and, in order to ſup-

port it, the ſame preponderant power, not contented with inveſting the place of our deliberations by an armed foreign force, with addreſſing to us notes full of menaces, ſeizes from among us, and carries off, our members; and, by an unexampled proceeding, keeps us, the king, bent under the weight of age and under ſuch manifold calamities, and us, the ſtates of the republic, confined and impriſoned in the ſenate.

Thus ſituated, we do declare, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that, unable to prevent, even with the riſk of our lives, the effect of the oppreſſive force, we leave to our poſterity, happier perhaps than ourſelves, thoſe means of ſaving our dear country, whereof we are bereft at preſent; and thus the project ſent to us by the ruſſian ambaſſador, though contrary to our laws, wiſhes, and opinions, forced by the above means to accept, we do accept.

Done at Grodno the 24th of September. Signed and engroſſed in the public records, according to law.

No. XII.

The principal ARTICLES *of the* TREATY *concluded at* YASSY *the 9th of* JANUARY 1792, *and ſigned by Prince* REPNIN *and the* GRAND VIZIR.

I. THAT a ſincere amity ſhall henceforth ſubſiſt between the two empires.

II. That the ſtipulations in the treaties that preceded the laſt rupture ſhall reſume their entire force.

III. That the Dnieſter ſhall henceforth ſerve as the boundary of the two empires; and that all the territory ſituate on the left bank of that river ſhall be reſtored to the Porte.

IV. That

IV. That the antient rights and privileges of the principal towns of Moldavia and of Valachia ſhall be confirmed; that the inhabitants of thoſe towns ſhall remain, during two whole years, exempt from all tribute; and that thoſe who would ſell their property, and retire elſewhere, ſhall be at liberty to do ſo without difficulty.

V. That the Porte ſhall henceforth guarantee the kingdoms of Gruſinia or Georgia and the adjacent countries.

VI. That it ſhall ſtrive to do the ſame in regard to Caucaſus.

VII. That it ſhall undertake to put a ſtop to the piracies of the barbarian corſairs, and to indemnify the ſubjects of Ruſſia for the loſſes they may ſuſtain by the failure of execution of the three preceding articles.

VIII. That the ruſſian, greek, moldavian, poliſh, &c. priſoners ſhall be ſet at liberty.

No. XIII.

Some PARTICULARS *of the* UKAUSE *or* EDICT *publiſhed in regard to the* FRENCH *eſtabliſhed in* RUSSIA.

AFTER a preamble againſt the french revolution, the empreſs adds: 1. All the effects of the treaty of commerce concluded the 30th of December 1786, between us and the late king Louis XVI. are ſuſpended, till ſuch time as order ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, and there ſhall be a legitimate authority in France. 2. We prohibit, till that ſame time, the entrance of french ſhips, whether under their own or under foreign colours, into all our ports ſituate in the ſeveral ſeas; and we likewiſe forbid all our merchants and maſters of ſhips

to cauſe their veſſels to enter the ports of France. 3. We command the ci-devant conſuls, agents, &c. to withdraw from our two reſidences; and that a term of three weeks ſhall be preſcribed to them for ſettling their affairs, and being without the frontiers of Ruſſia..... 4. We in like manner command all our conſuls, &c. and in general all Ruſſians of both ſexes, to quit, without delay, the kingdom of France..... 5. We command that none tolerate, and that they remove from our empire all the French, of either ſex, without exception..... 6. We except the French who, being ſummoned before the government of the place where they are ſettled, ſhall teſtify a ſincere deſire to abjure the principles that are now in vogue in their country..... It ſhall be clearly repreſented to them, that their abjuration ſhall be inſerted in the ruſſian and foreign gazettes, together with the names of thoſe who ſhall have ſworn and ſubſcribed it.

Form of the abjuration.—" I, the underwritten, ſwear by " Almighty God, and by his holy goſpel, that, as I have " never, wittingly or willingly, given my approbation to " the impious and ſeditious principles that have been intro- " duced into France, and that I confeſs the government " which has juſt been eſtabliſhed there to be unlawful and " uſurped, in violation of all laws..... That I am " convinced, in my conſcience, of the excellence of that " religion which has been tranſmitted to me by my an- " ceſtors..... I promiſe, and bind myſelf, in conſe- " quence, ſo long as I ſhall enjoy the ſecure protection " which her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias has graciouſly " vouchſafed to grant me, to live in the obſervance of the " precepts of the religion in which I was born; to be ſub- " miſſive to the laws and to the government of her imperial " majeſty; to break off all correſpondence in my native " country with the French who acknowledge the monſtrous " form of government now exiſting in France..... " And in caſe I ſhould ever be guilty of a violation of this

" oath, I ſubmit myſelf to all the ſeverity of the laws in " this life, and, for that which is to come, to the tremen- " dous judgment of God. And in confirmation of this " oath, I kiſs the holy goſpel and the croſs of my " Saviour."

No. XIV.

ABOLITION *of the* MESSAGES *relative to* FAMILY EVENT *between* SWEDEN *and* RUSSIA.

THE king of Sweden thought it his duty, on occaſion of the recent reſolution of his marriage, to give a princeſs [the empreſs of Ruſſia], who is his relation and his ally, the ſame mark of attention which he has already given to their pruſſian and daniſh majeſties, to whom he is equally attached by the bands of amity and good neighbourhood. It is therefore with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that his majeſty has ſeen that the empreſs of Ruſſia in no reſpect correſponded with this attention. The king has, in conſequence, reſolved in future to receive none of thoſe private miſſions which have relation to family events, and which have hitherto been cuſtomary between the two courts, but which the king has now aboliſhed for ever.

No. XV.

ACT *by which* COURLAND, SEMIGALLIA, *and the* CIRCLE *of* PILTEN, *ſurrendered themſelves to the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA.

I. WE ſubmit ourſelves for ourſelves and our poſterity, ourſelves and the duchies of Courland and Semigallia, to her imperial majeſty Catharine II. empreſs of all the Ruſſias, glorioufly reigning, and to her ſovereign ſceptre.

II. We know by experience the great inconvenience of the feudal ſyſtem which attached us to the paramount ſoveveignty of Poland, and how greatly it oppoſed the general proſperity of the country. We imitate our anceſtors of that part of Livonia beyond the Dvina, who, in 1561, renouncing the ſupremacy of the emperor and of the empire, conſequently the feudal ſyſtem of that time, and the mediate government of the teutonic order, ſubmitted themſelves immediately to Poland. We renounce for ourſelves and our poſterity the feudal ſyſtem which has ſubſiſted hitherto under the poliſh ſupremacy, and the mediate government reſulting from it. We ſubmit ourſelves immediately to her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias and to her ſceptre. We reſign to her, with the more confidence and reſpect, the more particular deciſion of our lot, as her ſaid majeſty has hitherto ſhewn herſelf the generous protectreſs and guarantee of all our rights, of our laws, of our cuſtoms, of our immunities, of our privileges *, and of our poſſeſſions. She will certainly be diſpoſed, according to her magnanimous and benevolent way of thinking, to ameliorate, in her maternal ſollicitude, the future lot of a country which ſubmits itſelf to her with the moſt reſpectful and the moſt unlimited confidence.

* Witneſs, when the ruſſian troops re-inſtated Biren by open force.

III. A deputation of ſix perſons ſhall go to Peterſburg, to ſollicit her imperial majeſty to deign to accept of our entire ſubmiſſion; and in that caſe, to take there to her imperial majeſty the oath of fidelity and obedience.

No. XVI.

FORM *of the* INDIVIDUAL OATH *exacted of the* LITHUANIANS *and the* POLES.

"I *N. N.* promiſe and ſwear to God Almighty, by his "holy goſpel, to be always ready to ſerve, faithfully and "loyally, her imperial majeſty the moſt ſerene empreſs, "grand lady, Catharine Alexievna, autocratrix of all the "Ruſſias, and her well-beloved ſon, grand duke Paul "Petrovitch, her lawful ſucceſſor, to go for that purpoſe "to yield up my life, and to ſhed the laſt drop of my "blood; to pay due and perfect obedience to the commands "already iſſued, or hereafter to iſſue, from the authorities "appointed by her; to fulfil and maintain them all conſci-"entiouſly to the beſt of my power; to contribute, with "all my ſtrength, to the maintenance of the peace and quiet "which her majeſty has eſtabliſhed in my country, and to "have no communication or intelligence whatever with the "diſturbers of that quiet, either mediately or immediately, "either publicly or privately, either by actions or by advice, "and whatever be the particular occaſion, circumſtance, or "cauſe that may lead to it.

"In caſe, on the contrary, any thing ſhould come to my "knowledge prejudicial to the intereſts of her imperial "majeſty, or to the general welfare, I will not only ſtrive "to remove at the time, but I will oppoſe it with all the "means that ſhall be in my power, to hinder it from coming "to paſs. I will ſo conduct myſelf in all my actions as it

" behoves me, like a faithful citizen, to behave towards the " authorities which her majeſty has ſet over me, and as " I muſt anſwer for it to God and to his terrible judgment. " So may God help me, as well in my body as in my " ſoul.

" In confirmation of the profeſſion made by this oath, " I kiſs the holy word and the croſs of my Saviour."

No. XVII.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

THE expreſſion, vol. i. p. 110. " was obliged at her " death to leave the throne to the young Peter II." requires a note.—Peter I. puſhing deſpotiſm to its utmoſt extremity, had made a law, which authorized the ſovereign to deſignate for his ſucceſſor whom he would. This law was eaſily eluded in a country where the exiſting monarch conſiders what has been enacted by his predeceſſors as obligatory only when it is his intereſt to do ſo, where the conſtitution and the form of government have no ſecurities. However, the law was made and adopted; and it was not for the legiſlator to be the firſt to infringe it. Peter died without deſignating his ſucceſſor, without even knowing who ſhould fill his throne. That monarch put his ſon to death, that his ſceptre might not fall into hands which he thought not able to wield it; thus ſtifling the ſentiments of paternal affection from attachment to the empire he had formed. Though apprehenſive that his painful and glorious labours would not be continued, that prince, inſtead of naming his ſucceſſor, and thereby declaring to his people him on whom he founded his hopes, died without foreſeeing the troubles, the incalculable misfortunes, ſuch a neglect might

might produce. What an error in a legiſlator! what inconſiſtency in the conduct of Peter! So true it is, that the greateſt man is ſometimes guilty of faults which an ordinary perſon would have avoided.

Vol. ii. p. 48. line 4.

Of ſuch commanding import was ſhe in Europe, that in our other fooliſh war, that with America, ſir James Harris, after having in vain ſollicited her effectual interference to get us out of the ſcrape, ſaid to her, "Well, we will talk no more of actual ſuccours, only "give us the countenance of your name; only put out "a manifeſto; only *ſay* that you will help us." The very next manifeſto that came out was that declaratory of the armed neutrality.

Vol. iii. p. 284.

All that can be collected from ſome private letters is, that the queſtion ſo long in doubt, about the north-eaſt paſſage, ſeems to be at length fairly negatived by the following curious fact, eſtabliſhing the eternal icy barriers of Phips, Cook, and Billings, viz. Regularly every ſpring immenſe herds of rein-deer, thouſands and ten thouſands ſtrong, come over to the open plains on the aſiatic ſide, to avoid the inſects of the cloſe damp american woods, and as regularly go back every Auguſt, feeding on the moſs of the intermediate iſlands in their paſſage.

Now, as that is the very time when the continued action of the ſummer's heat muſt have opened the ſea, if ever it did thaw; an open paſſage is put out of all doubt; and indeed Billings gives it as his opinion, that the thickneſs of the ice, every where, (except juſt about the mouths of large rivers, whoſe warmer waters make a partial opening as far as they extend), is ſuch, that a ten years continued ſummer would ſcarce reduce it to a fluid ſtate.

Vol. iii. p. 364. line 16.

Odnodvortzi (literally, owners of one habitation only) are a particular ſet of ruſſian peaſants. They were originally nobles; but, being reduced to poverty by various circumſtances, they were forced to till, with their own hands, what little ground they had remaining, for their maintenance. In proceſs of time people of different denominations, ſuch chiefly as filled inferior offices under government, came and ſettled amongſt them; and in the reign of Peter the great, when every nobleman was obliged to enliſt in the military ſervice, ſeveral of them, even thoſe of conſiderable property, choſe this condition of life; preferring rather to pay taxes to government along with theſe peaſants, than to go into the ſervice. Theſe peaſants have their own landed property, which they can diſpoſe of only to thoſe of their own condition. They pay all taxes impoſed by government; they have free liberty to traffic; to exerciſe any trade, art, or handicraft; and to employ themſelves in any purſuit agreeable to their own diſpoſitions and the laws of the country: but they cannot change their condition, nor remove from one diſtrict and ſettle in another, without having firſt obtained permiſſion from the government.

Since the printing of our third volume, Staniſlaus Auguſtus departed this life at St. Peterſburg, whither he had been invited by the emperor Paul, and where he lived in a ſort of regal ſtate in the magnificent marble palace on the quay of the Neva. A letter from Peterſburg, of the 20th of February 1798, acquaints us with the following circumſtances attending his death: He had for ſeveral days complained of a head-ach; but in conſequence of the uſe of medicine, on the 11th he found himſelf much better, and went to the window, to obſerve the degree of cold indicated by the thermometer, when he felt himſelf ſuddenly ſeized with a violent pain in the head, and great feebleneſs and illneſs.

His phyſician in waiting, privy counſellor Bockler, and his chaplain Yurevitch, haſtened to his aſſiſtance. He was conveyed to bed; and recourſe was had to bleeding and bliſters; but in vain. He requeſted his chaplain to give him abſolution, and wiſhed to repeat with him the penitential pſalms; but his ſpeech

ſoon

ſoon failed him. His majeſty then received the general abſolution and the ſacrament of extreme unction.

About midnight he appeared ſomewhat better; but, as the morning approached, grew continually weaker, till about eight in the morning of the 12th of February, when he breathed his laſt.

*** *To the enumeration of the imperial children, vol. iii. p. 59, add*

9. Michaila Pavlovitch, born Jan. 8, 1798.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

5 FE 66

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"If ever a man could be fitted by a train of circumſtances, to undertake the defence of a cauſe ſo great, and at the ſame time ſo diſaſtrous and ſo difficult, it is undoubtedly the noble advocate who has taken it up.—

"Undoubtedly there is not among all the French emigrants a man more proper to undertake their defence, than he whom fortune had placed in ſuch a ſituation; than he on whom Providence had impoſed ſuch duties, endowing him with ſuch ſentiments and faculties, and had forced and inſtructed from his infancy to purſue, to unmaſk, to combat, to diſarm, and beat down fraud, injuſtice, and violence.

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Britiſh Critic, June 1797.

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